10

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF EGYPT

EDITED BY F. LL. GRIFFITH.

TENTH MEMOIR

THE
ROCK TOMBS OF SHEIKH SAÏD

BY

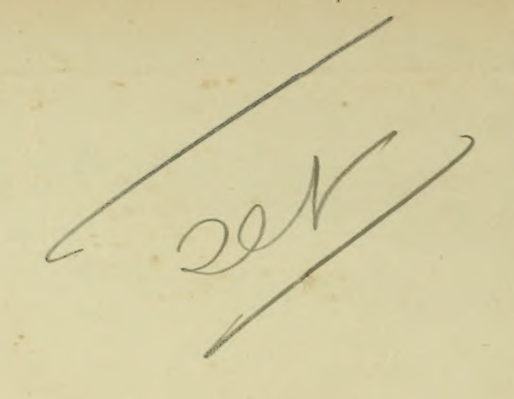
N. DE G. DAVIES.

THIRTY-FOUR PLATES AND FRONTISPIECE

SPECIAL PUBLICATION OF THE EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

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1901



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ROCK TOMBS OF SHEIKH SAÏD



Lilian L. Davies del.

REAPER.

Bas-relief—Tomb of Urarna.

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PREFACE.

This record of the dilapidated monuments of Sheikh Saïd has had the benefit of independent testimony to an unusual degree. Not only the copies of the scenes and inscriptions published by Lepsius and Prisse, but also very accurate and complete notes of the inscriptions made by Mr. Percy Newberry for the Archaeological Survey in 1892-3 were collated with the originals; so that the readings which have been adopted are either established by two or three witnesses, or, in the comparatively few cases where they diverge from previous copies, have been subjected to searching examination. All the plans of separate tombs in the volume have been copied from Mr. John Newberry's excellent plans, which were measured and fully drawn by him on the spot in 1892. In preparing them for the lithographer I have added the results of slight additional clearances which I made. The same is also to be said of Plates ix. and x., which are based on drawings by Mr. Howard Carter. My thanks are also due to my sister, Miss Lilian Davies, for two careful copies from squeezes of reliefs in the tomb of Urarna (Frontispiece and Plate viii.). Finally, every page has benefited, often very substantially, by the counsel and criticism of the Editor, whose help has been given so frequently and in so many ways as to preclude any complete acknowledgment of it.

N. de Garis Davies.

CONTENTS.

LIST OF THE PLATES

WITH REFERENCES TO THE PAGES ON WHICH THEY ARE DESCRIBED.

[1] Styled in the Plates "Tomb of Urarna I."

[2] Styled in the Plates "Tomb of Urarna II."

NOTE.—*For explanation of initials see Preface. All tomb plans were measured and drawn on the spot by Mr. J. Newberry. Drawings to scale are indicated by an asterisk. All other plates have been reproduced from full-sized tracings or squeezes.*

THE

ROCK TOMBS OF SHEIKH SAÏD.

I.—INTRODUCTION.

1. The District in Ancient Times.

The cliffs of Sheikh Saïd, on the eastern bank of the Nile opposite the town of Mellâwi-el-Arîsh and about 180 miles south of Cairo, were chosen in very early times as one of the chief places of burial for persons of importance in the district. The site lay but a short distance above the capital of the Hare Nome, the position of which is still marked by extensive mounds a few miles north-west of Mellâwi, while its Egyptian name survives in that of the village which has replaced it, Eshmunên. This Arabic name signifies "The two Shmuns," Shmun (ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ) being the Coptic form of its ancient Egyptian name [hieroglyphs] Khemennu.[1] This town was throughout Egyptian history the chief seat of the god Thoth in Upper Egypt; whence arose the name Hermopolis, by which it was best known to the Greeks. The importance of the city was no doubt largely due to the reputation of its temple; it or its sacred precincts are often referred to as Per-Zehuti, and once in a tomb at Sheikh Saïd as Het Abet, the "House of the Net," a name the explanation of which must be sought in mythology.

[1] The city, perhaps, in later days was composed of two distinct parts.

Few definite assertions can be made regarding even this centre of religious and political influence. The data which have been gathered from the necropolis of El Bersheh, and published in two previous volumes of the Archaeological Survey, are rich in general evidence regarding the organization of the Nome and the ideals of its rulers in the days of the Middle Kingdom, and they will assuredly gain in vividness and positive value with every advance of Egyptology. There is very little of later date which throws back any light on the age with which we are here concerned, for the drama which was played within the borders of the Nome under King Akhenaten had no genetic connection with the life of the province; nor do we know the extent of the influence which it exerted on life and worship in Khemennu. The stela of Piankhy shows that the capital was a strongly fortified town in the XXIVth Dynasty, and suffered the cruel fate of such cities in the wars of that time, when its ruler, who assumed the title of king of the province,

took arms against the Ethiopian invader. The portico of the magnificent temple still stood at the beginning of last century to bear witness to the long and probably unbroken religious history of Khemennu; but it has long since fallen a sacrifice to the demand for building material. Robert Hay, on his first visit to the site, made a drawing of the portico, supported by eleven gigantic columns. Shortly after, in his diary under the date of April 24, 1826, he mournfully records how he found all prostrate, and men and camels busily employed in removing the *débris*.[1]

For the history of the Nome during the whole of the Ancient Kingdom almost our only source lies in the tombs of Sheikh Saïd, for any information that may yet be gleaned from the mounds of Eshmunên is not likely to relate to the early periods. There exists, indeed, at El Bersheh a series of tombs which seem anterior to the main group (*El Bersheh* II., *Report by Geo. Fraser*), and which very likely belong to the period which links the Old to the Middle Kingdom. But they are of little account, having preserved for us no more than a few hieroglyphs and names. The value which accrues even to the gleanings of so scanty a harvest is ample justification for the work at Sheikh Saïd, of which the present publication is the record.

2. Situation of the Necropolis.

South of the Delta the Arabian mountain field presses so hard upon the river as to leave little space for cultivation anywhere upon the eastern bank. Opposite Eshmunên there is rather more than the average breadth of sandy waste and irrigated soil between the foot of the mountains and the river. But immediately south of the little village of El Bersheh an outlying range interposes between the main mass and the Nile, its steep western face running so close to the banks of the river for some distance as scarcely to leave room for a track at its foot. Further south, near the domed tomb of the Sheikh Saïd,[2] a Muslim saint from whom the heights derive their name, the hills begin to fall back again to the main field and give space for the great plain of Tell-el-Amarna. The outlying range is cut across by the Wady Zebaïda, so-called from the ruined chapel of a sainted Muhammedan lady, which stands just at its mouth above the river bank. It is in this vicinity that the most interesting monuments are to be found. On the south of the wady, above the chapel of Zebaïda, there is a boundary stela of Akhenaten, while along the cliffs to the north of it is the group of tombs which forms the subject of the present memoir. The mountains attain a height of more than 300 feet above the tombs of Sheikh Saïd.[3] South of the wady this elevation becomes imposing, as the range there descends to the river's edge in an almost precipitous face.

3. The Monuments and Antiquities.

The tombs of Sheikh Saïd lie about a mile south of the village of El Bersheh, and the visitor who approaches them from this direction will soon descry dark entrances here and there in the cliff face. Those, however, that lie to the north of the side valley known as the Wady el Gamûs are devoid of interest, as are

[1] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 31,054, fo. 117. I am indebted to Mr. Griffith for this interesting reference.

[2] See Arch. Report of the E.E.F. (1892-3).

[3] By this must be understood the clearly detached group to the north of the wady, which is dealt with in detail in this volume. The name Sheikh Saïd would, with more strictness, apply to the ruined tombs near the Sheikh's *welî*. Nestor de l'Hôte and Prisse call the group the tombs of Bersheh, but this name is now assigned to the M.K. tombs in the Wady Deir en Nakhleh.

other scattered tombs of the range. Shortly after this point is passed the most northerly tombs of the group are sighted, for on account of their ruined condition they are visible from a distance as a succession of large caves in the white cliff. The track which leads up to them ascends a steep spur, on the rocky summit of which two tiny rock tombs will be passed. With these commences the numbered series.[1] Immediately afterwards the large four-chambered Tomb No. 3 shows as a great grotto in the heart of the mountain, its front wall having been destroyed by the weathering of the cliff face. The path keeps close under the cliff and passes a series of more or less shattered tombs, of which only No. 6 retains traces of decoration.[2] At Tomb 11 a lower ledge of rock crops out, round which the path deviates. The cliff, however, may be followed a little further, and here Tomb 14 is reached, which consists solely of a recessed façade, the interior never having been hewn out (Pl. xxxii.). Opposite Tomb 13 are remains of a brick dwelling (?) which was constructed here at a late date. In the secondary ledge round which the path leads the inscribed tomb of the Governor Imhetep has been hewn, as well as two smaller burial places. The path now descends a slope of loose stones, and the visitor who follows it may easily miss Tomb 18, which is next in sequence; for it is hewn so boldly in the cliff above his head, that, though conspicuous at a distance, it readily escapes the notice of the passer-by. It can only be reached by clambering up an almost perpendicular face, in which rough steps are hewn. Not only is the position commanding, but the tomb is of imposing dimensions. The lady Henent and her husband, the Governor Meru (?), were buried here. From the terrace outside the summit of the cliff can be gained, and here (a little to the south) the façade of an unfinished (?) tomb will be found (18*a*). The track below soon returns to the cliff, which here towers high overhead. A doorway, which shows dark against the white face, is the entrance to the tomb of Prince Uau (No. 19). His neighbour Meru, whose tomb succeeds, was not so bold in the construction of his sepulchre, but placed it in a lower ledge of rock, the face of which has yielded to the long attack of time. Above, two smaller tombs are hewn in the cliff proper, the more southerly of which (No. 22) contains bas-reliefs of Hepa, an official connected with the royal gardens.

At this point the high cliff gives place to a steep slope. Both at the summit and at the foot of this incline are faces of rock suitable for the excavation of rock-chambers. In the former are hewn the tombs of the Upper Range (40-89. See Plate ii.), all of them small, most of them shattered, and none bearing so much as a fragment of inscription. They are so crowded together in the limited space available that some are now nearly inaccessible. The Lower Range is on the level of the path which has been hitherto followed, and contains first in order to the north the double-chambered tomb (No. 24) of the "leader of the land of *Un*," Serf-Ka (?).[3] Adjoining it, and connected with it by a continuous wall-face, is the tomb of his son, Urarna, who held similar rank and was a priest of King Ne-user-ra of the Vth Dynasty. The excellence of its surviving sculptures gives it easy pre-eminence among the tombs of the group. Further to the south along the same terrace lie Tombs 26 to 34, all of them uninscribed. In the rocky slope above them, midway between the Upper and Lower Ranges, a few tombs have been constructed, two of which

[1] Mr. Newberry numbered the tombs of the lower range, in most cases painting the figures inside the doorways. I have kept to his numbers as far as Tomb 34.

[2] For references to plates and to description of inscribed tombs, see List of Tombs, p. 6.

[3] Styled in the plates "Tomb of Urarna I."

are large and of interest, though devoid of early records. One (No. 37)[1] is remarkable for its proportions and the type of columns which were designed to support its roof. The other (No. 39)[2] has lost all resemblance to an ancient Egyptian tomb, having been turned into a place of residence or assembly by early Copts.

A few words may fitly be devoted here to the evidences of this later use of the necropolis. That the inhabitants were Copts may be conjectured from graffiti here and there, and from the extensive decorations in the tomb of Urarna; but the concealment or destruction of these in their turn points either to two periods of occupation or to two classes of inhabitants. Outside many of the tombs are the *débris* of mud-brick dwellings. These remains are especially noticeable opposite the tomb of Urarna, where I cleared a small house or chamber (Plate xvii.), built of mud-brick and having mud-plastered walls. The divan and niche which are so prominent in Tomb 39 are found here also. The house being built on a slope, the steps probably led up to a back entrance. Four feet of the height of the walls remain. It had been used later as a convenient place of burial. The practice of converting a tomb into a dwelling or using it as an annexe, which is so strikingly shown in Tomb 39, is also seen in the case of Tombs 61 and 62 (Plate xvii.), where the two have been connected by an exterior apartment into which they both opened. Here again the dwelling is seen to be something far removed from the comfortless home of an anchorite or outlaw. The entrance into Tomb 62 has been widened to admit the light, a dais constructed, and brickwork neatly plastered built into the doorways, while the outer room was furnished with a solid plaster pavement, which near the entrance seems to have been formed of rectangular slabs. That this space was part of the dwelling itself may be judged from the neat place of concealment constructed in the pavement and fitted to receive a lid. A jar has been sunk to the lip close by to serve the same end. Interesting evidence of date was secured by a pottery jar and some broken green glass found among the *débris*, both of which Professor Petrie assigns to the 4th century A.D. Thick layers of the leaves of *Cordia myxa*[3] were also found among the ruins of these brick buildings; possibly they had been used for bedding.

By following the track which leads past Tomb 34, a Southern Group of tombs is reached on the farther side of a small quarry or quarried chamber. There are four (90—93) on this level and nine others (94—102) lower down the hill (Plate ii.). They are uninscribed, and the descriptive notices given in the appended list will suffice.

Another small necropolis of late date will be found to the south-east of the southern group, over the crest of the hill and beyond a water-course which descends to the wady. A small knoll of rock is covered with graves so crowded together as to leave no space between and often to break into or run under one another. The type is simply the imitation in a rock-site of the interment of a sarcophagus in soft ground. A very shallow pit, which is given the size and outline either of a rectangular sarcophagus, or of one shaped to the human form, is sunk in the rock, and in its walls a groove or ledge is fashioned at the proper height on which to rest a stone lid. The tomb thus exactly represents a buried sarcophagus. Sometimes there is a side recess within the sarcophagus, to admit of two bodies lying side by side. In one case the grave represents two coffins superimposed. All have been broken and rifled, apparently very recently. Several instances of pit-tombs occur

[1] Numbered 39 within.

[2] Numbered 37 within.

[3] Identified by Mr. P. Newberry.

here; if earlier than the others they have been re-used, for in one case a sarcophagus has been hewn out of the chamber floor and provided with a lid. The pit may also have been closed by a slab. There is another pit-tomb and a rock chamber in the vicinity.

Of what date are the uninscribed tombs at Sheikh Saïd? Those who have worked in rock cemeteries have so rarely thought it worth while to describe the lesser tombs, that there are not sufficient data available for a judgment. The smaller tombs here correspond so little to our conceptions of Old Kingdom architecture, and are in such ruin and confusion, that it is easy to assign them to a degenerate age. But the larger tombs of the necropolis being what they are, the poorer sepulchres might easily be as insignificant and rude as this; and the presumption is that the smaller neighbours of inscribed tombs belong to the same period, and often to the same households.

If, as would be natural, after the cliff face had been worked to its north extremity, the upper terraces were selected as the most safe and convenient site, this would bring Tombs 40—89 into the decadent period of the VIIth and succeeding Dynasties, when a degraded type of tomb might be expected. In the upper range the later oblong burial shaft replaces the earlier square type. The occurrence of square wells outside these tombs does not conflict with this. They belong to a separate type—the pit-tomb—which is scattered here and there over the mountain, interfering constantly with others (anterior to Tomb 37, see p. 38). I am inclined to regard this type as the earliest in the necropolis (14*a*, 27?, 37*a*, *b*, *c*, 45, 58, 88). It consists of a square shaft a few feet deep, out of one side of which a small low vault opens. If the Upper Range were vastly later in date than the Lower, a greater divergency in type might have been looked for, and as the question is often complicated by the subsequent re-use and alteration of ancient tombs, a more definite judgment must be reserved. The separate site of the Southern Group (90—102) and the presence of broken pottery of Roman date round Tomb 102, suggest that these tombs are of late date. The type is much the same, but it must be remembered that rock tombs of the simpler sort do not admit of very varied forms. Perhaps the square niches so often found within and without the chambers once held inscribed slabs. This would account for the lack of inscriptions elsewhere in these tombs.

To the south-west of the Southern Group, on the last slopes of the hills towards the mouth of the wady, a pile of stone *débris*, drill cores and grinders, marks the site of a small settlement of workers in stone and alabaster. As the wady leads to the alabaster quarries of Het-nub, the presence of these relics is not surprising.

At the foot of the hills, and running roughly parallel with the river, is an ancient brick wall, whose course may be traced for nearly 300 yards. It does not form a perfectly straight line, but winds slightly to avoid the crests of the rock knolls. In the middle of this length a portion 26 ft. long, 13 ft. 6 in. high, and 5 ft. 3 in. broad, remains. Its sides have a very slight batter. The wall appears to have been a means of defence against the Bedawîn, to whom the wady afforded exceptional cover down to the very banks of the river. Such walls are found elsewhere in similar situations to the north and south (Murray's *Guide*, *passim*), and bear the name *Gisr el Agûz*, "Dyke of the Old Man," perhaps because the Arabs see how ill-fitted they are to serve as dams. The size of the bricks ($10\frac{1}{4} \times 3 \times 5$ inches) [1] may give the clue to the age of the construction.

A local fellah, fearing I was about to discover a secret long treasured by him, guided me to what proved to be a hitherto unknown boundary stela of Akhenaten, which in all probability

[1] Mr. J. Newberry.

marks the point where the limit of the sacred territory passed over to the other side of the Nile. The new stela is situated at the mouth of the wady, on its south side, facing the river and almost at the summit of the cliff. It is reached by ascending the shoulder of the mountain from near the chapel of Zebaïda, and though visible from the river is somewhat hard to find when close at hand. The rock unfortunately is so disastrously weathered that but little of the inscription is completely legible. The stela is of the usual form with rounded top, the slanting rock having been cut back to give it a more upright face. The Aten disk sends down its rays upon the king, queen, and princess Mertaten, who stand in adoration on the left, and upon offerings which are heaped on the right. In the centre before the king are 21 vertical columns of inscription (right to left). Above are cartouches, &c. The lower part of the stela was occupied by the rest of the inscription in horizontal lines; parts of 55 lines remain, several others having probably been lost. Such phrases as can be deciphered seem to make it certain that the text is not that which, *mutatis mutandis*, most of the others follow, but is closely akin to that of the stela figured in L. *D*. iii. 110*b*. The stela of Sheikh Saïd is probably the most northern on the east bank, while the former is one of the most southern. Possibly therefore the boundary stones at the four corners of the territory were inscribed differently from the rest. The inscription on the newly-discovered stela seems to have contained references otherwise unknown and of great interest, including perhaps a statement of the imposts by which the worship of the Sacred Disk in Akhetaten was to be maintained. The state of the monument and of its fellow to the south, however, is such that it is only by careful study and comparison of both upon the spot that a text worthy of publication can be secured.

The cliffs to the south of the wady contain ancient quarries which extend far underground. The quarrymen still work the hillside for building stone, shattering the tombs or burying them in *débris*. A hasty examination did not disclose any trace of inscription in those that remain, and it would be rash to assign a date to such ruins.[1] The falls of rock here often disclose interments in shallow pits, belonging to the early centuries of the Christian era, and occasionally yielding the plaster masks for the face and bust which are characteristic of the period in this district.

4. List of Tombs.

TYPE

Exterior. A. Left rough or slightly smoothed round the doorway.

B. Plain façade with lintel band above, e.g. Tomb 39, Plate xxxiii.

C. Façade with recessed jambs and lintel band (e.g. Tomb 15, Plate xxvii.).

D. The same, with second lintel band extending across the whole façade (e.g. Tomb 18, Plate xxii.).

A lintel within the doorway is indicated by * if square in section, by † if rounded.

Interior. a. Simple chamber.

b. Square or oblong pit with vault below.

c. Shallow pit in the floor.

d. Gallery or recess hewn in the rock wall.

e. False door.

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[1] Knowing that Mr. P. Newberry made a careful search for inscriptions throughout this neighbourhood in 1892, I confined my work to the compact group of tombs between the two wadys.

Unless otherwise stated, the façade is understood to have a slight batter; in the case of recessed jambs, it is slighter than that of the outer face. Where the natural slope of rock was not steep enough it was cut back, leaving the façade in a recess. "Low" signifies a height less than four feet.

Lower Range (from N. to S.).

	Type	
1.	Ac	Upright façade. Low. Pit probably shallow.
2.	Aa	Low. Niche in back wall.
3.	be	Four-chambered tomb. See Plate xxxii. and p. 43.
4.	A*	Unfinished within.
5.	A	Unfinished.
6.	Abde	Two-chambered tomb. See Plate xxxii. and p. 35.
7.	c	Front gone. Above ground level. Niche on N.E. Five feet high.
8.	?	Front gone. Unfinished or altered. Semicircular niche in W. wall.
9.	d	Front gone. Gallery on S.
10.	d	Front gone. Low.
11.	d	Front gone. Gallery on N. Uncleared.
12.	cd	Front gone. Low.
13.	Aa	Very rough. A rude bench of rock at the back. Five feet high.
14.	D	Façade only. See Plate xxxii.
14*a*.		Pit-tomb. Six or seven feet deep.
14*b*.		A gallery. Apparently almost wholly occupied by a pit. Uncleared.
15.	C†be	Two-chambered tomb of Imhetep. See Plates xxvii. to xxx. and pp. 31-34.
16.	a	Front gone. Niche in E. wall. Rough.
17.	Ba	Above ground level. Small and low. Unfinished?
18.	D*be	Tomb of Henent. See Plates xxii., xxv., and xxvi., and pp. 30, 31.
18*a*.	B	Façade only. Shallow square niche instead of doorway.
19.	C†bc	Three-chambered tomb of Uau. See Plates xxi. to xxiv. and pp. 27-29.
20.	Cbe	Four-chambered tomb of Meru. See Plates xviii. to xxi. and pp. 24-27.
21.	Abd	Smooth façade. Mud-plastered walls. Recess on W. Niches on W. and E. Gallery on S. Nearly 6 feet high. Well uncleared.
22.	Ac	Tomb of Hepa. See Plates xxvii. and xxxi. and p. 34.
23.	?	Front gone. Uncleared.
24.	D(?)b	Two-chambered tomb of the father of Urarna. See Plates iii.—vi. and pp. 10-14.
25.	Bbcd	Three-chambered tomb of Urarna. See Plates vii. to xvi., and pp. 14-24.
26.	Aa?	Rough chamber, now much altered.
27.	Ad?	Perhaps originally a pit-tomb and vault entered from above. Now has entrances on W., and from Tomb 26.
28.	Aa	Small. Uncleared.
29.	Ad	Low. The end of the north gallery expands into a tiny chamber.
30.	B†a	Small and low. Coptic crosses on façade.
31.	B*a	Door-sill four feet six inches above ground level. Irregular within. Four feet high.
32.	A*orB†a	The same, but lower in height and nearer the ground.
33.	Aa	Unfinished. Above ground level.

	TYPE	
34.	Aa	Small. Sill $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground. Niche at the back.
35.		Pit tomb ? Uncleared.
36.	A	Small. Uncleared.
37.	C†d	Two-chambered tomb. See Plate xxxiv. and pp. 37, 38.
37*a*,*b*,*c*.		Three pit-tombs.
38.	A ?	Smoothed façade. Rebate round door outside. Somewhat large chamber, but rough. Floor uncleared.
39.	B	Coptic dwelling. See Plate xxxiii. and p. 36.

UPPER RANGE (from N. to S.)

40.	Ace	The façade is smoothed, and on the right hand of the doorway are traces of an incised figure. Small, low, and irregular within. The pit is 3 feet square and 2 feet 6 inches deep. Outside to the left is a tiny uninscribed false door, facing south, with a small table for offerings in front.
41.		A mere niche.
42.	C*c	Small and low. Pit uncleared.
43.	B*a	Low.
44.	?	Broken down. Uncleared.
45.		Pit-tomb ? Uncleared.
46.		Now only a niche.
47.	A*	Smoothed façade. Four feet high. Pit partly filled.
48.		A niche.
49.	?	Broken down. Uncleared.

Immediately beneath the above are—

50.		A niche in the cliff face,—perhaps an unfinished or ruined tomb.
51.	B*a	Low. Unfinished.
52.	?	Front gone. Uncleared.
53.	A	Uncleared.

	TYPE	
54.	Ad	Low. Niche in back wall. There may be a pit.
55.	Aa ?	Low and irregular. Uncleared.
56.	Ac	Niche in back wall. Opening into tomb 57.
57.		Pit-tomb about 6 feet deep.
58.		Pit-tomb. Opening into tomb 60.
59.	Ac	A low gallery which may not be a separate tomb. Niche in back (S.) wall.
60.	?	Broken down. Uncleared.

Below these are—

61.	Aa	Low, but deeper in the centre.
62.	C ? de	Six feet high. Uninscribed false door on W. The two tombs were connected by a court to form a Coptic (?) dwelling. See p. 4.

Further to the South are—

63, 64.	d	Mere galleries at a high level.
65, 66, 67.	(?)	Broken-down, irregular chambers.
68.	A	Uncleared.
69.	Acde	5 feet 6 inches high. A carefully-fashioned niche, with rebate all round it, occupies the middle of the back wall. Remains of false door on W. A gallery runs to the S. beneath floor level and expands into a chamber on the E.
70.	(?)	The present floor is deep below the sill, having been lowered so that the chamber of the original pit is now a recess in the W. wall.
71*a*, *b*,*c*.	? Ad ?	These were three separate tombs, *a* and *b* being at a higher level and *c* under *b*. The floor of *a* was lowered and a door broken into tomb 70. The three tombs were then thrown into one, so

No.	TYPE	
		as to give a very irregular chamber more than 9 feet high. The door of *a* became a window, its gallery a recess high up, and the doors of *b* and *c*, being thrown into one, became a doorway 6 feet high. Semicircular niches in the walls suggest that it was altered for use as a dwelling.
72.	B†b	Small and low. The pit has a vault below which is confused with a lower tomb.
73.	B	Small and uncleared.
74.	B ?	Irregular. Uncleared.
75.	?	Now an unroofed chamber (a pit ?) from the S. end of which a long gallery runs.
76.	?	Well shaped but partially broken down.
77.		Broken down. Uncleared.

Above these lie (N. to S.)—

No.	TYPE	
78.	?	Broken down. Uncleared.
79.	b	Partly broken down. Well uncleared. Rough. Four feet high.
80.	?	Front broken. Very irregular within, two tombs having probably been united to form a dwelling. About 5 feet high. The two pits open out in two directions at a depth of 7 feet. These vaults connect with one another and with that of Tomb 75.
81.	Aa	Small and low.
82, 83, 84.	Aa?	Mere doorways of unfinished tombs.

On a lower level at the middle of the range are—

No.	TYPE	
85, 86.	?	Rough. Uncleared.
87.		An uncleared gallery.
88.		A pit-tomb ? Uncleared.
89.	Ad	Four feet high. A deep niche in the back wall.

SOUTHERN GROUP.

No.	TYPE	
90.	Bd	Recesses about 2 feet high.
91.	?	Now a mere recess.
92.	d	Front gone. Uncleared. Niches on N. and E.
93.	Ad ?	Small chamber with unfinished gallery.

On a lower level are—

No.	TYPE	
94.	Ba	Small and irregular chamber.
95—99.	Aa ?	Very small and rough.
100.	d	Front broken. Uncleared.
101.	Ad ?	Probably a tomb like 93, the gallery of which ran into the large chamber of a pit-tomb behind.
102.	d	Front and roof are gone. Uncleared.

II.—THE LARGER TOMBS.

1. Previous Work on the Site.

Robert Hay seems to have been the first who considered these unattractive tombs worthy of examination and description. In his MS. diary are two records of visits to the group, one in April, 1826, the other probably earlier in the same year (Brit. Mus. *Add. MSS.* 31,054, fo. 117; 29,814, fo. 16, 17). He there describes the architecture and scenes of the tombs of Urarna (N. and W. walls) and Meru, and makes a brief reference to Tomb 24. He also gives a description with sketches of Tomb 37. His notes, though accurate, supply no record of anything which has been lost since his day.

Nestor de l'Hôte records a visit to the tombs, which he calls the tombs of El Bersché and Deyr abu Fâm, in 1838 (*Lettres écrites de l'Égypte*, p. 51). He gives a copy of the priestly titles of the father of Urarna and of the titles of Imhetep.

Wilkinson (MSS. in the possession of Sir Vauncey Crewe) made sketches in 1841 (?) of sundry fragments of scenes and inscriptions. They add nothing to later copies. He names the site Isbayda.

The Prussian Expedition under Lepsius copied portions of the tombs in 1843 (L. *D.* ii. 112, 113). These copies have proved of great value, preserving three examples of the inscription of Tehutinekht, of which only one fragment of any size now remains, and parts of the stelae of Uau and Imhetep which have also disappeared.

Prisse d'Avennes visited the tombs in the same year (*Revue Arch.* 1844, p. 723). He has left copies of the stela of Meru, with the adjoining figure and titles, and the figure and titles of the father of Urarna (*Monuments*, Plate xv.). These are of importance for the attribution to Meru of the title "Governor of the house of Teta," which Lepsius had not found on the stela (see p. 26). The copies show several errors.

Petrie and Griffith took notes in 1887. For one sketch see *A Season in Egypt* (Plate xxv.).

Newberry (P. and J.) and Carter worked here for the Archaeological Survey in 1892-3, planning the large tombs, taking notes of all inscriptions, and copying the greater part of the reliefs. (See *Archaeological Report* of the Egypt Exploration Fund for that season.) The indebtedness of the present publication to the work done on that occasion has been acknowledged in the preface.

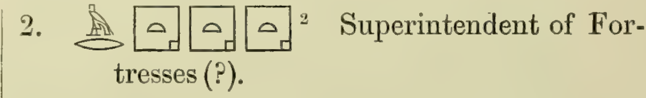
TOMB No. 24.

Belonging to Serfka (?), Father of Urarna.[1]

(Plates III.—VI.)

Titles of the owner :—

1. Superintendent of Rescripts (?).



2. [2] Superintendent of Fortresses (?).

3. Leader of the land of *Un*.

[1] Called by inadvertence in the plates "Tomb of Urarna I."; the name which is most prominent in the tomb having been retained after my clearance of the W. wall had indicated the real owner.

[2] For the true form of the sign see Plate xvii.

4. Superintendent of the New Towns.

5. Priest of King Userkaf.

6. Priest of King Khufu.

7. Royal acquaintance.

8. (?) Superintendent of the nomes of the central south (Middle Egypt?).

(The records are so defaced and incomplete that a reliable list cannot be obtained).

The front wall and outer chamber of this tomb have suffered severely by the decay of the low terrace in which it is hewn, and threaten further ruin. Judging from the fragment of the façade which remains, the exterior was of type D (recessed jambs and two lintel bands). The top of the doorway is nearly destroyed. The existing portion of the broad lintel band contains the only example known in this necropolis of an inscription outside the tomb. It is the commencement of the well-known formula of prayer (R. to L.)

There was a standing figure in relief on the S., and probably also on the N. side of the doorway, facing towards it.

The tomb has two chambers, the inner and smaller one being uninscribed. The latter, however, contains the remains of seated figures of the deceased and his wife, whose attitude of affection is pathetically apparent even under the extreme ill-usage which they have undergone together. The burial vault is also reached from this chamber; not, however, by means of a shaft, but by a very steep slope, down which the coffin could be easily lowered to its resting-place.

Remains of sculpture can still be seen in the thickness of the outer wall on the S. side (A). Between the legs of a standing male figure is the smaller figure of a son (?) holding a whip (?) in his left hand, of whose name or is the very doubtful reading. A nude child stood behind the large figure, and an attendant faced him in front. The doorway to the inner room had a rounded lintel. In the thickness of the wall here are rough figures of the deceased and his sons. On the north side (Plate vi. 2) the large figure stands facing outwards, with a staff in his right hand and *kherp*-sceptre in his left, and wearing the close-fitting tunic. His "eldest son, Urarna" precedes him, and between (i.e. beside) his legs is shown another child (?), Ka-hap, who is already credited with the dignity of a "royal *wab*-priest." Both wear the lock of youth. An almost identical representation is given on the S. side (Pl. vi. 3), where Ka-hap carries a lotus, and his father wears a pointed tunic. On both sides a third son follows, whose name cannot be read. On the N. side titles 1, 2, 3, 4 and 8 (?) are inscribed in rough hieroglyphs overhead. On the S. side titles 5 and 6 are given, but these were preceded and followed originally by other columns (apparently not cartouches).[1]

We now turn to the OUTER CHAMBER. The west wall was devoted to bas-reliefs, but on the southern half only the lower part of the design

[1] The figures on Plate vi. are from squeezes, and show the rough character of the work. The sculpture seems to have suffered very little since the days of Wilkinson: the contrast with the copies of earlier workers is rather to be attributed to the free restoration which they used. In view of a question which will arise later (see p. 26) it should be noticed that Prisse's reading of the broken signs is much less accurate than that of Lepsius. He must have taken his reading of the fifth column (title No. 8) from the W. wall; there is not room for it here, as the copies of Lepsius and Wilkinson also show. The true reading may be .

was executed, and on the northern side the greater part has been lost by the crumbling away of the wall and by weathering. The obliteration of the scenes in both cases has been more complete because they were cut very roughly, and given only a slight relief. The three other walls were treated in a different manner, niches containing standing figures being cut in them, and the narrow piers which were left between the recesses being decorated with figures and scenes in low relief.

In the recesses P and D there were, perhaps, figures of the deceased and his wife together. At N were two separate figures, in the others single statues. On the pier O are still recognizable scenes of ploughing and reaping in three registers; each of the other piers seems to have held a figure, with attendants in a register below. On J (Plate vi. 1) is the deceased in the dress of a *sem*-priest. Beneath are two keepers of the wardrobe (?), the foremost of whom has a sack upon his shoulder, and a dwarf who leads his master's greyhound (?). The pier H was occupied by a female figure in long wig, neck band (?), and collar, facing right. Pier F contains three figures in as many registers, facing right and nearly obliterated; rude hieroglyphs attached to the lowest seem to read (?) (?) (?). On E there remain the legs of a figure, with a dog beneath (name of latter illegible). From C nothing but can be recovered.

The design for the space at the top of the East Wall (S. side) was executed in paint, and left in faint relief on a thin facing of plaster. What can still be deciphered is represented on Plate xvii., but the reading of most of the signs is open to great question. Title No. 8 has Prisse's support, but is very unusual. The painted form of the rare hieroglyph which is used in title 2 is given in facsimile on Plate xvii., together with a copy of the example at Zâwiyet el Meiyitîn (L. *D.* ii. 110). It is evident, when the name of the personage in the first ship on Plate v. is considered, that the first five columns of titles on the E. wall end with the name of the occupant of the tomb. The attendant who is given the foremost place in the sculptured scenes of a tomb often bears the name of his master. Such a one on Plate iv. is called Serfka (?), and this confirmation of the apparent reading may justify the application of this name to the owner of the tomb. These five columns, then, apply to the figure below (Plate vi. 1), the rest go with other figures in the niches or on the piers.

The scene on the South Half of the West Wall (Plate iv.) may well have been a design of some merit, but its poor and unfinished execution, together with the injury which it has sustained, deprive it of a great deal of its value. In the chief register Serfka and his wife are sitting side by side, in the attitude commonly adopted by the Egyptian sculptor to suggest conjugal affection. Serfka wears the priestly dress, consisting of a leopard's skin cast round the body and tied by an elaborate knot above the left shoulder. The features of husband and wife have been obliterated, as is the invariable lot of the figures in this necropolis. Owing to the unfinished state of the wall we have lost the names and titles. Below (i.e. beside) the chair the pet ape, who is in charge of a dwarf no bigger than it, regales itself from a basket of fruit, and, with a true touch of simian nature, keeps a jealous guard the while over the remainder. Before the deceased and his wife is the table spread with good things, the plentifulness and variety of which are guaranteed in addition by the mention, in a carelessly written list, of "thousands of linen, thread, *ser* (?) geese, loaves, oryxes, cranes, oxen, and gazelles," and would probably have been still further secured by a list of offerings above, had the decoration been completed. It is owing to the piety of the son, who has succeeded to his

father's place and titles, that the dead enjoy this banquet. Accordingly, "the superintendent of the new towns, Urarna," is seen performing the rite of beatification ([hieroglyphs]), while his retinue of servants slaughter animals, or carry birds and offerings. Among them Serfka (?) is bringing a crane, and the "servant of the *ka*, Zah," is "bringing *perkheru* gifts."

In a crowded scene below are depicted the two departments of the household service of an Egyptian noble. On the left are artificers working in wood, metal, and jewellery; on the right are the providers of entertainment. Among the first we see in the upper row workers in metal, precious or otherwise. Four men with blow-tubes raise the fuel in a furnace to white heat below a crucible, while an overseer, whose name is not legible, watches the critical operation, which is headed *neb·t*, "melting." Over them are specimens of their craft—bowls, a hand-basin and ewer, a mirror, a vase, a blade, an axe-head, &c. The fitting of bead-work and ornaments is, as usual, entrusted to dwarfs, for whom this light and sedentary work was specially fitted. One is "threading (?) a collar" ("piercing gold work"?). Another is "presenting a collar for inspection" to the royal *wab*-priest, Menhetep.

Below are the workers in wood. The first seems to be hardening the point of a staff in the fire (*pfś*?). The second is perhaps rubbing it with some preparation. The following scene seems to depict the employment of a simple yet powerful vice or press, formed by two beams hinged at one end like a hoe, and used exactly as nut-crackers are by us. One arm of the instrument being securely fastened down to a block, and the whole weight of a man thrown upon the other, a great force would be exerted, and serve in this case to grip or compress the shafts of wood. The superscription seems to be "putting staves in the vice" (lit. "treading on staves"). Further to the left two "carpenters" are vigorously "polishing a coffin," superintended by "the head carpenter." On the right are musicians and dancers. As is often the case, it is a female performer who is "playing the harp" to the time beaten by her companion. Below are the male performers. They use both kinds of flute, and each has a comrade to beat time (*ḥest*), and perhaps chant to his accompaniment. The entertainment is probably given in the rooms of the harem, and the men are therefore screened off from the females by a draped partition (?).[1] The prodigal supply of food assigned to the musicians suggests that they were rewarded chiefly in this way. The figures of the dancing women, though now reduced to a few broken outlines, are still instinct with gaiety and physical abandon, and this impression is heightened by the introduction of an ape,[2] whose faithful imitation of its superiors leaves nothing to be desired. It may have been the custom of these ancient troupes, like some of their modern successors, to train these animals to contribute their share to the general hilarity. The two women whose role is simply to beat time wear the usual feminine garb; the rest are more lightly clothed, and one, if the worn stone does not do her wrong, has altogether divested herself of dress. One carries what might be a sistrum. The space left for the inscription is unfortunately blank.

West Wall, N. half. (Plate v.) What little remains of the reliefs here is almost indecipherable. The upper part evidently depicted some rendering of accounts or payment of taxes. There may have been a figure of Serfka on the left, to whom the accounts received from the busy scribes were being presented. Below this a drag-net full of fish is being drawn to land by two groups of fishermen. In the mid-distance a boat is being urged by rowers. The lowest register shows a

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[1] Cat-headed, L. *D.* ii. 36.

[2] Or is it a female dwarf as in L. *D.* ii. 36 ?

flotilla of boats, and seems to set forth the every-day incident of a journey by water rather than the final burial procession to the necropolis. In the leading ship, which is sailing before the wind, "the royal acquaintance, Serfka (?)," stands under a light canopy and rests on his long staff. His ship is followed by a rowing-boat which carries "his eldest son, the royal acquaintance and superintendent of rescripts (?), Urarna (?)." Another sailing ship is close behind. The small expedition is accompanied also by servants, who make the journey by land. We see them on the further bank leading an ox and bringing birds.

TOMB No. 25.

BELONGING TO [hieroglyphs] URARNA.

(PLATES VII.—XVI.)

Titles of the owner :—

1. [hieroglyphs] Royal Acquaintance.
2. [hieroglyphs] Governor of the Great (?) House.
3. [hieroglyphs] Superintendent of Rescripts.
4. [hieroglyphs] Leader of the Land.
5. [hieroglyphs] Superintendent of the New Towns.
6. [hieroglyphs] Royal *Wab*-Priest.
7. [hieroglyphs] Priest of Ne-user-ra.

They are preceded by [hieroglyph], the sign of the Hare Nome, to signify that the offices were exercised within this province.

This tomb adjoins the last, and the intervening face of rock has been smoothed to a façade, as if to indicate the close connection of the two. When Urarna desired to hew out his tomb as near to his father's as possible, he found the site already occupied by a low chamber. Not deterred by this, he cut through one end of it and made a narrow façade in the rock behind, gaining in this way the advantage of a loftier and more solid ceiling for the large chambers he meditated. There is thus an open approach to the door of the tomb, on the right of which lies what remains of the earlier chamber. The Copts, who have greatly wrecked the interior of the tomb, have covered the façade with plaster and fashioned a semi-circular niche in the right jamb of the door. The entrance is much broken, only retaining its original dimensions near the ground. On entering the tomb, a large chamber, roughly square in plan, is found, only the outer half of which has bas-reliefs; but it soon becomes clear that this aspect is only due to destruction on a large scale.

The task of determining the original plan and scheme of decoration is aided from an unexpected quarter. There was formerly at Zâwiyet el Meiyitîn, some thirty miles to the north, a magnificent rock tomb belonging to a prince of the Oryx Nome, named Khunes. It, with the whole necropolis, has been destroyed for building stone, only the shrine now remaining; but happily it was copied for the great work of Lepsius (L. *D.* i. 57; ii. 105—109).[1] From

[1] See also *Description de l'Égypte*, iv. 68.

the plan and from the scenes there given, it may be seen that its similarity to the tomb of Urarna is so great as to point unmistakably to the employment of the same artist-builder, "the royal decorator and sculptor Ptahkhuu" (Plate x.) for both. The proportions and designs seem to have been calculated originally for the tomb of Khunes,[1] and only carried out in the tomb of Urarna so far as circumstances permitted. Hence the former is probably earlier. The tomb of Khunes is laid out on a plan which differs considerably in detail from that of Urarna. It has two oblong chambers parallel with the frontage, the outer and deeper of which is divided along its length by a row of square pillars, and also a third chamber of small proportions, each wall of which is adorned with a rock-cut statue and the entrance flanked on either side by similar figures. Perhaps the exceptional adornment of the corresponding doorway in Urarna's tomb may be a reminiscence of this treatment.

The tomb at Sheikh Saïd in its present state has only one chamber to represent the two of Khunes, and we have to ask whether this was the original arrangement, a row of pillars only having been removed later, or whether there were two rooms divided by a solid wall, the division of the outer chamber by pillars not having been adopted in view of its lesser proportions. When the thickness of the pier which is left on the north, the remains of decoration on its outer side, and other features are considered, the strong presumption is that a solid wall, not pillars, originally divided the two halves of the present chamber. The few feet of this wall left to us show that there was probably a further difference in that this, the E. wall of the outer chamber, was decorated, as generally at Sheikh Saïd, with a series of niches containing statues, above which a record of titles ran. The niche, as well as the presumed statue, has been hacked away, but the titles overhead remain, and the double occurrence of the proper name (Plate xiii. A) suggests that there was a second niche and statue near the first.

While the desire to follow the pattern of the tomb of Khunes is thus apparent, local conditions prevented its being exactly copied, and the altered dimensions necessitated changes in the scheme of decoration also. If Ptahkhuu was a native of the Oryx Nome, this imitation would imply the inferiority of the Hare Nome to its neighbour in the culture of the arts. But it is more likely that Ptahkhuu was brought from Memphis.

The stupid energy with which the work of mutilation was begun is plainly shown by the west wall north of the doorway, where only the heads of the figures of Urarna and his wife and a vertical strip of bas-reliefs at the end have survived the onslaught. Two niches were set in the midst of the havoc that had been worked. At this point the wreckers seem to have reflected that they were on the point of destroying the tomb as well as its sculpture, and that an unsightly church was likely to result. They contented themselves, therefore, with hiding the reliefs of the N., S., and W. walls under a covering of plaster, by which means they have unintentionally preserved to us some valuable examples of Old Kingdom sculpture. A deep niche, however, was cut through the figure of Urarna on the N. wall, and seems to have been framed in wood and used as a cupboard.

The Second Chamber contains no original decoration, except where a doorway in its eastern wall gave access through a small room to the burial vault. This doorway is immediately opposite the entrance to the tomb, and no doubt

[1] The scenes are not allotted to their respective walls in the plates of Lepsius. I assign them thus:—105*a*, *b* = W. wall (N. half); 107 and 106*b* = W. wall (S. half); 106*a* = N. wall (W. half); 108 = N. wall (E. half and pier); 109 = S. wall (W. half and pier).

faced a corresponding opening in the partition wall. The sill is high above the ground, but there are signs that it was reached originally by steps.[1] It thus has the appearance of a shrine rather than a passage, and was probably intended more for the use of the dead than of the living; corresponding indeed, though set in the east wall, to the usual doorway in the stela. This is paralleled in the tomb of Mera at Saqqâreh, the well-known statue there being replaced here by reliefs, for figures of Urarna and his sons are found on both sides the thickness of the wall, facing outward. Overhead is . On the south, two nude children are shown, the upper named ; on the south only one, (Plate xvii). Urarna is in *sem*-priest's garb. The rebate for framing and holes for door pivots may be later. On the east wall, north of the entrance, a design in red paint of a figure of Urarna is still visible. The wall here is mapped out in lines, showing that there was to have been matwork behind the figure and an inscription above. The well in this room is shallow, and the chamber below insignificant; it is probably not part of the original construction.

What remains to be noticed in the chamber are the relics of that Coptic occupation of unknown date, when the tomb was transformed into a place of worship by throwing the two chambers into one, destroying or concealing the reliefs, decorating the walls with paintings, and finally by constructing an apse at the back of the tomb. This latter is not without architectural merit, though so carelessly planned that it broke into the S.-W. corner of the inmost chamber. The opening of the apse is decorated with a moulded arch, resting on pilasters whose capitals are sculptured with acanthus leaf ornamentation. The exact design of the latter can no longer be recovered. Traces of painting remain on the ceiling of the apse, which seem to represent extended wings. There is a tiny niche within, on the S. side.

Having noted traces of painting on the wall to the south of the apse, I cleared away the whitewash and found that a fresco of some merit had occupied the greater part, and though much had perished, sufficient was secured to give some idea of the work (Plate xiv. A). It is plain that the painting is earlier than two square niches which now deface the wall, and that the tomb was used as a dwelling place at a time subsequent to its use as a church. The picture evidently represents the favourite subject of St. George and the Dragon; the reptile, whose tail is curled round the hind leg of the horse, is turning its crested head upon its assailant and opening its jaws. Of the upper part only the richly ornamented trappings of the horse and the decorated shield or cloak of the rider are visible. The colours chiefly used are maroon in several shades, buff, black, and a drab which may represent a faded pigment. The head of the dragon is in green and maroon. Specialists must be allowed to fix the date and value of the composition.

The fragment containing names of Coptic brethren (Plate xiv. B) is from the same wall, above the smaller niche.

The south wall of this second chamber contains other Coptic paintings (Plates xiii. B, and xiv. C and D), which seem to be fanciful designs, grouped round a central cross of Coptic shape, which perhaps reflects the Egyptian *ankh*. The paintings are executed on the plaster, but have been overlaid later with whitewash. The cross (B) is in the centre; the fragment C is at some distance to the right, D to the left. The former seems to depict a horse or antelope, and perhaps some other animal behind it. Over the unicorn in fragment D is its Greek name, **MONOKHPOC** (for

[1] These might, however, be the remains of an altar.

MONOKEPΩC). These animals seem to have no emblematic significance, and as gazelles were used in early Christian decorations, an artistic motive may account for their presence here.

The Inmost Chamber is extremely rough in every respect. It is likely that it has been enlarged later, and the second and loftier doorway then cut. The floor is now of very different levels, but in the original state there was probably no descent from the sill of the inscribed doorway. Contrary to custom this inmost chamber has received some bas-reliefs. They occupy the space between the doorway and the present breach into the apse, and represent servants hastening from right to left, bearing a yoke upon their shoulders, from which baskets, &c., are suspended. Care was taken to set the burial vault out of sight or easy access. From the upper part of the south wall a gallery just large enough to admit a coffin was driven into the rock for a short distance, and a pit, 7 or 8 feet deep, was then sunk at its farther end. Out of the south side of this the burial chamber opened a room of sufficient size and 3 feet 8 inches in height.[1]

The Outer Chamber. The reliefs which once handsomely adorned this room are black with age and with smoke from the cooking fires of generations of Bedawin, who have found in this roomy cave a heaven-given shelter for flocks and families. They have suffered still more from the plaster which once covered them, the clinging relics of which had to be painfully picked off in order to reach the original outline. Nor was the long story of violation closed with the last cutting of doorways and niches. Two outrages (though scarcely treated as such in Egypt, where no adequate protection is yet given to the monuments, though they form one of the most remunerative assets of the country) have been committed in recent years on the fine design of the west wall. The date of one of these is subsequent to 1892, and we happily possess Mr. Carter's drawing of the subject made in that year. Sheer folly is probably the reason for the breach which has been made in the S. end of the W. wall. The remains of the sculptures which occupied the space show that it cannot be of contemporary date. The upper half of the doorway remains blind; for if it had been carried through it would have met the lower roof of the exterior tomb. It is therefore only a useless hole.

The South Wall (Plates ix. and x.).[2] We here see the ruler of the Hare Nome within doors, or rather in one of the light garden kiosks which form the most pleasant place of retreat in the East during much of the day, and which are often represented in Egyptian tombs as the places where receptions were held or the day's business transacted.[3] As is indicated by the roof, the pavilion only extends over two of the three sections of the wall. The slaughtering, cooking, &c., are naturally done outside it, and as the front of the pavilion is open, it is convenient also that the dancers perform in the open, while the musicians sit in shelter and shade. The roof of the pavilion is carried on six light wooden columns[4] resting on circular bases, and having capitals carved to the form of an open lotus flower, round whose stem half-opened buds are tied. The inner petals support a small abacus on which the roof beams rest. The beauty of this design could only conceal

[1] I turned over the rubbish which encumbers the well and vault, more in order to obtain the measurements than in the expectation of obtaining any considerable fragments of burial furniture; a hope which no one would entertain after seeing the evidence of thorough and repeated search which all the tombs here exhibit.

[2] These are to be put together to form the scene. The upper line is that of the ceiling, and the painted border is to be supplied below it and at both sides.

[3] The scene in the tomb of Khunes corresponds with this, but there it is the wife who is being diverted.

[4] Only the three nearer ones are shown.

the incongruity of the idea, so long as the weight which it supported was small; the Egyptians, therefore, refrained from employing it in stone buildings. In the tomb of Khunes the architects made a compromise by using it as a bas-relief on the square sides of rock-hewn pillars, as on the two famous pillars of Thothmes at Karnak. Perhaps the architect of Tomb 37 of this group entertained the idea of using this tempting art-form in stone, but recoiled at the last before its impracticability. (See p. 37.)

In this scene we may see one of the cherished dreams of the Egyptian noble regarding the life beyond death. Therein he hoped to repeat some of the most charming hours of life on earth, the hours of the *Kef* or Eastern *dolce far niente*, when he ate a dainty repast in his garden kiosk through which the cool breezes blew, while music played and the *ghawâzi* induced delicious dreaminess by their winding dances. Urarna sits here wearing his long wig and clinging tunic, and the scarf which is the mark of the lector's office. Three "servants of the *ka*" perform religious ceremonies of purification and "the burning (?) of incense." The array of dishes, &c., which occupies the upper part of the picture speaks eloquently of banquets, and the detailed enumeration of viands round the table amounts to a prayer or assurance regarding them. The preparation for the meal has been made outside; the animals have been slaughtered, and the cooking is in active preparation. One roasts a bird over the coals upon a spit, while an assistant prepares another bird for the fire. Joints are also being boiled in a cauldron set in a large pottery (?) furnace. Three other cooks are engaged in baking cakes: one seems to be kneading them, while others toast them over the fire on rods. Their name is [hieroglyphs] and this may be the word above.[1]

The foremost is saying, "See, I have finished it" (or "caught it"). The dishes, when ready, are set out on low tables and carried in by attendants. "Bringing forward offerings" (reading [hieroglyphs]). The music is provided as usual by a harper and a player on the long flute, to whom three comrades set the measure. Or perhaps, as the two foremost do not appear to be clapping, we may read the legend above as "Singing with full accompaniment beautifully" (?). Above the flautist is written, "Playing on the flute," and above the harpist, "Divine finger" (?) and "Striking (the harp)." In the foreground outside five dancing-girls, dressed in short tunics, go through rhythmical movements, the time being set by two companions.[2] The legend "Beautiful dances for the *ka*" shows that the dances depicted are not a mere reminiscence of pleasures enjoyed on earth.

It was the privilege of the sculptor to sign his work by pourtraying himself prominently among the officials of the household, or even as one allowed to eat in the presence of his lord. Here "the royal decorator[3] and sculptor" Ptahkhuu has considered himself entitled to an invitation to the private entertainment of his master.

West Wall (South of the Entrance). Plates xv. and xvi. The close resemblance of the designs in this tomb to those in the tomb of Khunes (L. *D.* ii. 105—9) is especially noticeable

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[1] See Plate xii. here: Mar., *Mast.*, p. 328: L. *D.* ii. 66, 96.

[2] The worn stone may be responsible for their unclothed appearance.

[3] This title is elsewhere only given to the tiring servant of the king and to goldsmiths. In days when the art-sense was rarer the court artist might be consulted in every department which called for it, from great architectural works down to minutely worked jewellery, and the decking out of the head and neck of the king with the royal insignia, &c. Or the gifts of Ptahkhuu may have been recognized at first in the humbler office of *coiffeur*. See Spiegelberg, *Ä. Z.* for 1896, p. 162.

in the case of this wall.[1] There is just the difference of attitude and unimportant detail which an artist might allow himself in following a design all the essential features of which he held in memory, while he was not concerned with a repetition in facsimile. The object of the picture is to depict the culture of grain from the sowing of the seed to the gathering of the manifold harvest, yet this, not for its own sake, but as affording wealth and sustenance to its owner. Hence the figure of Urarna, who surveys the scene. His importance is made clear by the number of servitors who follow him with every provision for his personal adornment, comfort, and amusement, as well as by a luxurious provision for screening him from the rays of the sun when he watches the labour of his servants in the open fields. This welcome shade is given by a light and portable canopy, the domed roof of which is carried on four slender staves and held firm by tenons on their upper ends. On three sides, or perhaps only on the sunward side, a mat woven in intricate patterns is hung by means of ties at the two upper corners. The mat has a broad border of black at top and bottom; between these the pattern is formed by woven work of green and yellow.[2] By this happy example of the textile work of his time the artist has managed to throw into relief the mass of red and white on the figure. Urarna is clothed in the simplest way, for though sandals are not common wear, even his donkey drivers are provided with them for their work.

The cutting of the doorway has left us little of the series of attendants who are depicted as following Urarna into the fields. Those that remain bear cloth (?) and caskets, and lead their master's favourite dog and baboons.[3] What is lacking the scene in L. *D.* ii. 107 may supply. The field scenes, which occupy the rest of the wall, are enumerated in the descriptive title,

> "Seeing the ploughing (the gathering of the flax, the reaping and carrying) and treading of the threshing-floors for the controllers of the estate belonging to the tomb."[4]

The upper register, which often represents the further scene in point of distance, here shows that most remote in time. The genius of ancient Egypt for administration may be read into the attitude of the first three figures. The scribe, who is to the fore in all Egyptian enterprises, is also here in the fields; and there is also shown that wise sub-division of responsibility which in larger spheres of Egyptian life accomplished such feats of orderly government. Urarna, who himself is "leader of the land," holds "a steward" responsible for the management of his private estates, and receives from him a written record of his office. The steward again looks to the scribes employed in the various departments to furnish him with the necessary details. The first item in the reckoning of the harvest being the seed-corn from which it sprang, a careful entry was wont to be made of it. Accordingly the "registration of the seed-corn" is shown, the scribe entering upon his oblong tablet the two bags of grain which are to be handed over to the

[1] Lepsius, for some reason, left the tomb of Urarna uncopied. The scene in L. *D.* ii. 106*b* and 107 fits this wall of Urarna, but is too long for the corresponding wall of Khunes. Can he have confused the two versions of the scene?

[2] The pattern is now so faded as to be scarcely visible. Only the green colour is traceable; the yellow I infer from other examples. The patterns have been copied from careful measurements of the existing fragments, but the exact limit of each cannot be guaranteed. For other, and more elaborate examples, see L. *D.* ii. 52, 57, 61, 63, 64, and Prisse, *Art Égyptien* II. Pl. 46 (coloured), all of the Vth Dynasty.

[3] seems to be the name given to them here.

[4] Completed from L. *D.* ii. 107 (reading).

responsible person. This official, who acknowledges the receipt with the respectful gesture expected of him, is in this case a controller (*ḥeqa*) who bears the same title as the greatest in the province, his relation to those under him being, in his much smaller sphere, the same. He, with several others, seems to be held responsible for the ingathering of the harvest, and its proper use in providing the sepulchre of the deceased proprietor with bread. The corn which is entered against him in the ledger he delivers to the labourers, one of whom is seen with the seed-bag round his neck "casting the grain" from his right hand in a long and even stream under the feet of the cattle who follow him.[1] Although contrary to our custom, the operation of ploughing is no doubt correctly represented as succeeding, not preceding, the work of the sower. The soil does not need deep working, and the plough, which is rightly depicted as entering but slightly into the ground, does little more than the work of a harrow. It is indeed capable of little more, as is shown by the hieroglyphic facsimile above it. This ancient plough is simply the labourer's hoe drawn through the soil by cattle instead of being used as a pick, which was the alternative method of breaking up the ground and burying the seed. (L. *D.* ii. 51.) To adapt it to its new use the handle was much lengthened, so as to form a pole which extended more than halfway to the head of the draught-animals. For the rest the connection was by a rope fastened to the pole by a loop and pin, and thus readily unshipped. The blade, which in the common hoe was merely a pointed piece of wood attached at an acute angle and maintained in that position by a twisted cord, retained this simple shape when it became the plough-share, the only difference being that a forked branch was chosen, the two arms of which, when given the proper curve, formed the stilts of the plough. The depth of the furrow could be regulated by the length of the pole, while the ploughman, by leaning on the handles, kept the share in the ground and guided it in a straight line. But the labour involved must still have been considerable. With the love of clearness native to Egyptian art, the pole and cord have been shown against the outer flank of the animal, whereas, the pole being single, we must imagine it placed between the two and attached to the centre of the yoke. This latter is simply a straight piece of wood laid across the forehead of the two beasts and tied with cords to the base of their long horns. Owing to their greater tractability cows were often used to draw the plough, as here depicted. The quiet attitude of the driver seems to indicate that it needed no more than a guiding touch of his stick upon their flanks to keep them in a straight furrow. He employs his voice also; for his cry to one of them which is pulling too much away from him is given, "Come over, thou!" The man at the stilts is described as "he who lays" (sc. the plough). The legend over the second pair is "Tillage by the plough."

The light plough, which breaks up the layer of rich mud left by the inundation, has not hidden the seed sufficiently. The soil must be more carefully worked over, and the Egyptian chose the trampling feet of his sheep as the cheapest implement for the purpose. It is, however, only here and there that the animals will find inducements in the form of weeds. The leading ram of the drove is tempted on therefore by the offer and by an occasional taste of food from the hand of a "leader," who goes in front provided with a bag. Where the foremost goes the rest follow, and drivers behind, by keeping the troop together in the train of

[1] In this instance the grain is fitly shown falling in a gentle curve. Elsewhere it is more stiffly represented, and this rod-like appearance has caused the draughtsman in L. *D.* ii. 107 to mistake it for a staff. The surmise that such an instrument was used to break up the heavier clods is thus unnecessary.

the plough, ensure that the whole field is trodden over by the active hoofs of the sheep. The artist has not depicted the large flock, which in all probability would be employed, and which could alone justify the formidable *posse* of drovers; but instead, by skilfully posing a few animals, he has managed to suggest the crowd of hustling, frightened ewes, and the unhurried gait of the dignified rams. The technical execution of the scene is at least equal to the beauty of outline and grouping; it is only to be regretted that it is not more perfectly preserved. It is interesting besides as a portraiture of this early breed of domestic sheep. An animal strongly resembling it is still extant in West Africa in the country of Say.[1] That the flock served the same purpose as the plough is shown by the descriptive note above, *ska em seru* (?) "tillage by sheep," where the verb employed is the same and determined by the sign of the plough.[2] The four drovers behind are armed with a formidable variety of weapons. Besides staves, which might be resorted to in case of extreme insubordination, they carry the curiously shaped *meh* whip, made of rope, and a third instrument which they seem to regard as too inoffensive for use, and reserve perhaps for lambs and weaklings.[3] It is a scourge of cord or leather, apparently, and consists of a loop which can be grasped and from which depend four short thongs, rendered more effectual, it would seem, for purposes of chastisement by the addition of a hard knot or loop. As the Egyptians made use of a stick, carved at the end into the shape of an open human hand, for correcting baboons and bringing servants into a proper state of mind for approaching their superiors (Pl. xv., *Deir el Gebrâwi* I., Pl. viii.), so they seem to have devised an imitation of the open hand, by which a slap might be administered as if with open fingers. The four thongs represent the four fingers, and the added knot would enable a more severe stroke to be given, such as the back of the fingers and knuckles might apply.[4]

The next register presents the harvest both of flax and barley. Again there is work for the scribes, and one of the craft, a spare reed pen behind his ear and his ink-palette and tablets spread out on his writing-case, sits in readiness to take down the report of the controller. By his side is "the keeper of accounts" (*ari a*), who receives the documents for preservation. The registration of the harvest is a matter of such importance that the son of the prince makes the final report to his father. Behind, the harvesting is seen in progress. The flax is not reaped, but is pulled up by the roots in handfuls, the ripe seeds being stripped off by an action of the hand. The two operations are described as "gathering the flax" and "stripping the flax."[5] The handfuls are gathered into bundles and bound round near the roots with cord by men who sit at their task and use hands and feet in it. This characteristic sheaf of flax is used as the ideogram for its name.

The harvest of barley is also shown, being clearly distinguished by the bearded ears and by the length of straw which is left unreaped.

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[1] Thilenius in *Recueil*, xxii., p. 199.

[2] Elsewhere, L. *D.* ii. 51, 56, *ska em hesf*, "Tillage by trampling." (?)

[3] The instrument is only shown in the hands of these sheep drovers. For a simpler form see *El Bersheh* I. xxv.

[4] This knout, though often depicted in the monuments, has never been successfully copied (L. *D.* ii. 106, 51, 56; Wilk. ii. 390). It seems to me likely to afford a clue to the origin of the *sah* sign. See *Ptahhetep* I., fig. 304, and Mar. *Mast.*, p. 492, where the loops are shown, but the fingers seem of stiff material, and L. *D.* ii. 3, where the nails of the four fingers are represented. The sign would thus represent an imitation hand; three or four fingers made of cord or leather being strung on a loop of the same material. The colours, however, scarcely support this theory.

[5] The figures enclosed within the irregular line in Plate xvi. have been lately destroyed, and are reproduced from a copy made by Mr. Carter in 1892.

If the representation is to be taken as correct, and not as a clever avoidance by the artist of the indistinctness which would result were all the figures seen against a background of uncut grain, the reapers did not proceed, as with us, along the side of the field, reaping in file as they went, but each one cut an avenue for himself into the field at right angles to its side. As the field of high stubble remained even where the reapers had passed, there was not the same reason for adopting the method familiar to us, and which the gatherers of flax seem to follow. For the same reason the severed ears could not well be thrown aside by the reaper, but must have been passed to a comrade, who, perhaps for artistic reasons, is never shown. (For the action, see *Ptahhetep* II., Plate viii., and the second figure here.)

The sickles used were, doubtless, wooden instruments set with flints, such as have been found by Petrie. (*Kahun*, Plate ix.; *Illahun*, Plate vii.)[1]

There is no sign of the traditional taskmaster in this or in other depictions of the harvest field; at this season everyone is in good humour. Of the five reapers here, two are snatching moments for refreshment. One rubs the grain out of an ear of corn with his hands; the other is taking a draught from the tall beer-jar. The note over the reapers is *asekh at an* (?)[2] *asut per zet*, "the reaping of barley by the gangs of the tomb estate" and "reaping by the small gang."

The Third Register is again headed by one who brings forward his report, and by two scribes who are busy registering the number of sheaves which have been stacked. The scene depicted here is the carrying and stacking of the corn. On the right the sheaves, confined in rope nets, are brought on the backs of asses, of which two are represented. The load is piled so high that it needs the assistance of two men and a boy to keep it from overbalancing and to drive the animal forward. They are met by a returning troop of asses which have discharged their burden, and are being driven off by five drovers armed with long cudgels. All the men engaged in this work wear sandals, having to run continually to and fro. "Driving back a hundred asses." The sheaves left behind are thrown on a stack by two men, the action being duly noted as "piling up a stack."

In the Fourth Register yet another responsible person, the "factor" (*ari khet*), faces his lord in a respectful attitude. Another harvest scene is shown, which is described as "the reaping of wheat (*bedet?*) by the serfs of the king." Neither the ears nor stalks of grain are shown in detail. The handfuls of wheat are gathered into bundles and then carried off the field and bound into large sheaves for removal. Over the labourer is written "giving a bundle (?) of wheat."

The final operation is shown in the last two groups, where the grain is being trodden out, on one threshing-floor by oxen, on another by asses. The animals stand knee-deep in

[1] They were probably also of the same shape as these actual examples, the apparent difference being due to the attempt of the artist to draw the sickle as seen in the hands of the reapers at a very oblique angle of vision. Most Egyptian artists give the shape approximately, though they are hopelessly wrong in the position of the hands (*Ptahhetep* II. vii.; L. *D.* ii. 43, 47, 73, 80). Our artist is exceptionally unhappy in his presentation, especially in the tomb of Khunes. Once only, where the sickle was in an easy position for drawing (under the arm of the reaper who rubs corn), has he given something like the correct shape. Here and elsewhere the knob left at the end of the handle to ensure a firm grip is rendered without exaggeration. Probably all deviations from the Kahun type are due only to the difficulty of drawing it in actual use. The *ma* hieroglyph seems to be only a misleading outline of the same form; as this shape is only occasionally given to the sickle in the scenes (L. *D.* ii. 51).

[2] Surely a careless mistake for , as is also for .

straw, and are kept moving upon the floor by frequent blows from the sticks of men who stand round the edge of the heaped-up grain. The cry of these drivers, *ar hak am-es*, "keep watch over them," is written above.

W. Wall, North of Entrance. Nothing is left of the representations on this wall but the heads of Urarna and his wife, and a vertical strip showing the last figures in the four registers which faced them (Plate xiii. C and D). The lost scenes seem to have been somewhat different from those on the corresponding wall of the tomb of Khunes (L. *D.* ii. 105*a*, *b*), owing partly to the smaller wall surface here. There the prince and his wife stand in similar attitude, but the registers record, (1) Fowling (as in Plate x.), (2) Cattle-breeding and fattening, (3) Boatmen fighting, (4) Cattle fording the water. In both tombs work in the marshlands is the subject, forming a companion scene to that on the N. Wall. Here the wall probably showed only the presentation of wild fowl in the upper two registers, and of cattle in the two below. The ends of the inscriptions read "... fishermen (?) of the tomb estate"; "..... the marsh country"; "..... his herdsmen"; "an ox."

The North Wall (Plates xi. and xii. in junction). The subject is the outdoor activities in the untilled lands and pools near the desert. On the left hand Urarna plays his easier part. He has embarked in a papyrus canoe, which we are to imagine of the proportions indicated by the scale on which the crew[1] are drawn rather than those which the figure of the prince would suggest. For besides a crew of nine (18 ?), whose means of propulsion are not indicated, the craft holds the prince and his wife (her knee is visible near his foot), an attendant, and presumably a steersman at the stern. The boat has been urged into the fields of papyrus, where birds of all kinds breed and congregate. Urarna (whose name remains overhead, though his figure has been destroyed), armed with his throw-stick, brings down his quarry as it sits upon the nest or flies up out of the dense thicket. In the water two hippopotami resent the intrusion of the party into a spot which they are accustomed to inhabit undisturbed.

To the right (Plate xii.) is represented the work which the servants of Urarna find to their hand in this outlying part of their lord's domains. Some, like their master, are engaged in fowling, but in a more wholesale manner. A large clap-net is spread in the mere, while its manipulators conceal themselves behind the tall papyrus stems which fringe it. Those who habitually dwell or work in these marshes go quite naked. Their leader, too, has divested himself of his sandals and scanty clothing, and has deposited them in his fisherman's shelter. Hidden by the reeds, he watches the pool, and when the unsuspecting birds are swimming in numbers over the spot, gives the signal for the sudden clapping-to of the net. He does this by a cloth so spread along his back and outstretched arms as to be visible only from behind and not to alarm the birds. He is "directing the capture." The whole action is admirably shown. The men are leaning forward and gripping the rope well in advance with the right hand, ready to fling themselves back at the crucial moment. The "superintendent of the fishermen" is restraining their excitement, while the leader, looking back to see if his men are ready, is about to give the looked-for sign. The pool is represented as if seen from above: its banks are

[1] This rare addition of the crew is shown also in the tomb of Khunes, where the boat is manned by fifteen or more rowers. It is difficult to imagine a canoe of this capacity constructed of so unsuitable a material. But the following report of a recent traveller, M. Foureau, shows the danger of hasty criticism and the light which Africa may throw on its own ancient life. "On the west side we had seen some canoes of the Chad islanders, the Buduma. These canoes are made of bundles of reeds tied closely together and, though heavy, are unsinkable, albeit the crew are practically seated in the water. The form is that of an ordinary undecked boat, with an elevated prow." (*Journal Royal Geog. Soc.*, 1901.)

shown, and beneath its surface, covered with water-plants and fowl, is the spread net. Behind, as if in prophecy of success, a man is securing the booty in cages. Such was the practice in "netting birds."

Below, men are tearing up the papyrus stems and carrying them off in heavy, unwieldy bundles to their comrades the boat-builders. Very little naval architecture suffices for the *sept semeh*, "building of canoes." Rough stocks are prepared by driving one or two supports into the ground to hold up the prow and stern, and these, with the help of a stone or two, are enough to ensure the requisite curve to the craft as it is built up with bundles of reeds tied closely together. A large amount of binding material must have been used: two or three coils are assigned to each boat.

In the lowest register fishing with a drag-net is being successfully practised. The fishermen stand on shore and haul in the ropes attached to the two ends, getting a better purchase on the rope by means of shoulder straps. On the shore, in shade of the reeds, a comrade sits splitting open and cleaning on a board the newly-caught fish. Others prepare their repast by broiling fish over the coals or making cakes. The meal of the superintendent is evidently of a less makeshift character.

TOMB No. 20.

BELONGING TO [hieroglyphs] MERU WITH SURNAME [hieroglyphs] BEBA.

(PLATES XVIII.—XXI.)

Titles of the owner:—

1. [hieroglyphs] Governor of the House.
2. [hieroglyphs] Governor of the House of Pepy.
3. [hieroglyphs] (?) Governor of the House of Teta (?)
4. [hieroglyphs] Royal Chancellor.
5. [hieroglyphs] Sole Companion.
6. [hieroglyphs] Chief Lector.
7. [hieroglyphs] *Sem*-master of all Tunics.
8. [hieroglyphs] Superintendent of the South.
9. [hieroglyphs] Superintendent of the New Towns.
10. [hieroglyphs] First after the King in the Great House.
11. [hieroglyphs] Staff of the People.
12. [hieroglyphs] *An ka mut.*
13. [hieroglyphs] Royal Acquaintance.
14. [hieroglyphs] Priest of Hathor, Lady of the Sycamore.
15. [hieroglyphs] *Sab ad mer* of the Southern Throne.
16. [hieroglyphs] *Sab* Superintendent of Writing.

The tomb of Meru is hewn in a low ledge of rock, and being, in addition, badly set out, a part of the front wall has given way on the N. The hillside was cut back so as to give a façade of sufficient height, the jambs of the doorway being recessed and given a much slighter batter (about 1 in 20 instead of 1 in 8). There was probably one lintel band over the jambs. A foot remains to show that there was a figure in relief on the N. jamb; a figure in the thickness of the wall (N. side) is reproduced on Plate v. There is now a rebate all round the

doorway within, and a hole in the ceiling to receive the pivot of a door. The tomb comprises four rooms, a low chamber opening out of the S. wall of the inmost room accounting for the unusual number. The back wall of the third chamber is occupied by two seated figures, apparently of man and wife, who look out over the valley of the Nile through the line of doorways, as if in expression of the hope or prayer that the spirits of the dead might still have that happiness. In the second room is a shaft, now partly filled with rubbish; that in the outer chamber is nearly empty, and, to speak from memory of the descent, is about 20 feet deep. At the bottom a vault opens out to the westward. As usual, only the outer chamber was inscribed.

West Wall (Plate xix.). The north half, which perhaps already showed signs of weakness, was left undecorated. The southern half contains a large false door of the usual type, having a cavetto cornice painted in separated bands of red, blue, green, blue; the roll-and-torus moulding, which is almost entirely gone, is represented in the plate as intact. The hieroglyphs are incised and coloured blue against a red ground. The monument has not suffered greatly since the days of Lepsius and Prisse; the small additional matter in their copies has been added to the plate in dotted lines (L. *D.* 112 *d*: Prisse, *Mon.* xv. 3). On the upper lintel is the prayer—

> "May the King and Anubis, Ruler of the Divine tomb (*seh*) grant as a grace his burial in the most happy West in the place of his reward; and may Osiris, Lord of Dadu, grant that he join the earth (i.e. be buried) and sail the heavenly ocean, and that the heart of the West (?) go out to him, in peace, in peace, to the West."

The prayer on the short lintel runs—

> "May the King and Thoth, who dwells in Khemennu, and (?) Anubis on his hill grant as a grace his burial in his tomb."

On the right outer jamb the king and Anubis are invoked for "his burial in the necropolis in his tomb in the Western desert [1] and a very happy old age"; and Osiris "that he may journey to his chamber of the necropolis, and that there may be *perkheru* gifts for him at the festivals of the opening and first day of the year, of the heat, of Thoth and at the *wag*-feast." On the left outer jamb are prayers for the favour of Anubis in eight of his forms—as master of the divine tomb, as lord of the sacred land, as lord of Sepa, as lord of the dwellers in Ut, as lord of the great land, and in another capacity; also that the local deity may be gracious to him (Meru). *Perkheru* gifts are also sought from Osiris, since he (the dead) is "deserving before the king, before the great god, and before Thoth, lord of Khemennu."

The two duplicated prayers on the inner jambs are to the king and Anubis—

> "That he may travel on the pleasant roads on which the deserving travel, in peace, in peace."

and to Osiris, lord of those in the West and of Abydos—

> "That his heart may go out to the Governor . . . . . Meru Beba."

To the left of the stela are the sacred oils, for the bringing of which the steward Nezem is made responsible. On the right, animals are being presented to Meru; two oryxes, an ox, a hyena, and an addax are seen. Meru stands under a light canopy, and over it are titles in five columns of thin incised hieroglyphs, now almost illegible. Each column is headed by the royal name in a square enclosure, preceded perhaps by the ☥ sign. In either case this seems to be an acknowledgment that Meru held all his offices under the crown, and as its provincial representative. The royal name appears to have

[1] The common expression is used, though the necropolis here was in the Eastern desert.

been everywhere the object of deliberate malice. Probably the walls are in no worse state now than in the days of Prisse, who in his copy (*Mon.* xv.) makes the names of Pepy and Teta alternate here, beginning with the former. As read to-day, the occurrence of the name Teta is not impossible in one instance, and suggests itself in the other ; but there is no need to read it, and I am strongly of opinion that Prisse was mistaken and read the names on to the stela, where Lepsius did not find them, nor can they be found to-day. The title too seems to require the name of the *reigning* king.[1]

The SOUTH WALL (Plate xx.) presents the banquet of the deceased, the customary heap of offerings and file of servants being reduced to small proportions owing to the unusual size of the list of offerings. These scenes and those on the W. wall are very badly executed, the lines of the designer being so widely diverged from by the sculptor that sometimes the former have been followed in Plate xx. rather than the actual relief. The stand of vases under the table and most of the offerings above it are only in paint. The hieroglyphs in the list of offerings are incised, and painted in various colours. The topmost line and the titles of Meru are so incrusted as to be hardly legible.

EAST WALL (Plate xxi.). In its original state the wall must have presented an impressive aspect, with its seven life-size statues sculptured in the round, painted, and set in niches, to which the large coloured hieroglyphs made a most decorative framework. So far as can be judged from the terribly mutilated figures and the worn hieroglyphs, the work was of a meritorious character, considering the great difficulty of working in living rock of by no means good or homogeneous quality. The visitor would think that he here stood before the effigies of the members of a large and noble house, who had made this their common place of burial or commemoration. But there is no ground for believing that these are, for the most part at any rate, more than repetitions of the figure of Meru. They represent indeed the numerous *ka* statues, which, since the *serdab* could not well be reproduced in a rock-hewn tomb, were here allowed the light of day. A part of the rock itself, they could not be stolen away.

Near the ceiling, in two almost identical inscriptions, are the titles of Meru. The vertical lines also seem to have been in honour of Meru, as appears from the opening signs and a fragment of the ending, which I was able to fit into its place. At the bottom of the first pier to the south of the doorway two columns of the later inscription of Tehutinekht remain (see p. 38). The figure above it seems somewhat out of character with the rest of the design, but there was nothing to suggest a later date.

One of the niches north of the doorway has been furnished with notches to receive shelves, the figure having been sacrificed to the domestic convenience of some Copt or other solitary, who for good or evil reason fled to the quiet of the mountains.[2]

THICKNESS : INNER DOORWAY. Over the doorway to the inner room is a lintel rounded on both sides; the inscription is lost. On the S. thickness is a figure of Meru in plain dress and in the usual attitude. The few remaining signs of a vertical inscription suggest that it was the duplicate of a similar column on the N. thickness, where a similar figure stands, facing outward. The titles 1, 5, 9 and 8 (?)[3] are here enumerated. On this (N.) side a little

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[1] In the seems to be an abbreviation for the royal enclosure and to denote the local seat of the king's administration. The precedence which is often given to it ( ) suggests association with the king.

[2] The figure in this niche is a single one of ordinary breadth, contrary to the appearance which the lines of mutilation give in the plate.

[3] Wilkinson adds (?) Cf. N. Wall.

figure holding a *kherp* baton in his left hand, and wearing a full wig and collar, grasps Meru's staff. Above in very faint signs is the inscription, "First after the King in the Great House, *Sab* Superintendent of Writing (?), his beloved son Behesy (?)" (Plate xvii.).

N. Wall (Plate xvii.). On the right hand there is a deep niche containing a seated figure. The wall below its feet is cut into the form of a tablet, flanked by a vase on both sides. On the east side of the recess is a rough relief of a man offering a bird (Plate xxi.).

The rest of the wall is occupied by four figures, three of them full size, roughly cut in relief. The inscriptions and smaller figures included in the design are in the paint in which they were originally sketched. A bad natural fault in the wall probably discouraged the artist from completing the scene. Meru is in front, staff in hand. His wife, supposed to be standing at his side, is placed behind him in compliance with the rules of Egyptian draughtmanship, her left arm lightly touching her husband's right. Their son precedes them. Meru is given his titles 1, 5, 6, 10, 11, 12. His son is described as "his eldest[1] Son, Sole Companion, Superintendent of the South, the deserving Uau." His wife is entitled "Royal Acquaintance and Priestess of Hathor." As her name stands it may read Mertitefs-Neferteta, which is possible. Probably, however, lost signs should be supplied thus: , or, again, the line might read "Mertitefs, whose good name is Teta" (cf. Grave 10 at Zâwiyet el Meiyitîn). Between the pair is a small painted figure, "his eldest son, First after the King in the Great House, Meru." On the extreme left is a third figure leaning on a staff, "the Governor of the House, Royal Chancellor, *Sem*-priest, Sole Companion, . . . deserving before Him who is in Khemennu. . . ." The name is lost, but from the titles it must either be a repeated figure of Meru himself or of one of his sons when he had succeeded to the titles of his father. The *sem* title makes the former more probable.

On the extreme right are smaller figures in several registers much broken by the fault in the wall. They seem to represent the haling and chastisement of offenders. One figure crouches or sits at a scribe's desk, while another stands behind with raised stick. Two such groups occur in the top register, another below this, and a fourth in the lowest corner. Little can be made of the inscriptions. A "superintendent of gangs" (*mer thesut*) seems to be mentioned.

[1] This word is erased.

TOMB No. 19.

Belonging to Uau, with Surname Au.

(Plates XXI.—XXIV.)

Titles of the owner :—

1. *Ha*-Prince.
2. Superintendent of the South.
3. Royal Chancellor.
4. Governor of the House.
5. Sole Companion.
6. Lector.
7. First after the King in the Great House.
8. Great Chief of *Un*.

The tomb of Uau has no architectural pretensions. Contented with the magnificent natural façade of the towering cliff, its constructors took no pains with the exterior, but gave it slightly recessed upright jambs, a lintel band crossing them and a rounded lintel in the doorway, all roughly executed. The doorway has a rebate within, and a depression in the floor may have received the pivot of a door at some time. The construction within is very faulty, the outer room being so much on the skew as nearly to break through the outer wall on the one hand, and the inner wall on the other; its western wall also has a strong batter. The inmost chamber is a mere cave, and the second room contains nothing but an oblong pit, which is now filled with rubbish. In the outer room are two shafts; that on the N. is partly filled, that on the S. is almost empty, and at 7 ft. below the floor has an expansion on the W. and S. which it would be flattery to call a vault.

Thickness of Doorways. On the north side of the outer doorway is a single column of incised hieroglyphs recording that "it was made for himself as his monuments to his father by the *Ha*-prince Aha." Below this the whole breadth of the pier has been cut away in recent times. It must, therefore, have been here that the restoration inscription of Tehutinekht was to be seen in the time of Lepsius (L. *D.* ii. 113*b*). Over the inner doorway there is a rounded lintel bearing some titles of Uau, and on both sides in the thickness of the wall there are traces of painted figures and titles of the deceased. Uau is here described as "deserving before him who is in Khemennu," and perhaps as "Governor of the House of Pepy," but this latter title is more than doubtful. Uau's tomb is mainly decorated with paintings on plaster; the work is fairly good, but little now remains, and is scarcely seen against the very dark background employed. Only the figures and inscriptions on the N. stela, the tablet of the S. stela, and the greater part of the W. wall, are incised as well as coloured.

West Wall, N. Side. Here the stela (Plate xxiii.) is sculptured, sunk in a shallow recess. It is coloured red; the hieroglyphs, which are poor in character, are incised and painted blue. The cornice is adorned in the usual way. Great injury has been done to the monument, but it has been restored in the plate from the copy of Lepsius (L. *D.* ii. 113*a*). The prayers are in the usual form. On the lintel is, "May the king grant as a grace, and may Anubis, master of the divine shrine, He who is on his hill, He who is in Ut, Lord of the sacred soil, grant that he have fair burial in his tomb and *perkheru* gifts, for him the prince, . . . the deserving Uau." On the jambs the prayer is to the king and Osiris for provisions. The inner jambs record only his titles. On the short upper lintel Ptah-seker is the god of burial who is acknowledged. The tablet has the almost invariable form. The door of the stela is divided down the middle to represent folding doors secured by two bolts. Scarcely a trace remains of the scenes which were painted on each side of the stela. On the right were sacred oils, on the left perhaps a list of offerings and a standing figure beneath.

West Wall, S. Side. Here also a stela occupies the middle of the wall. It has been almost wholly destroyed, but a portion of the tablet preserves an incised female figure, and the end of the inscription, [hieroglyphs] We may conclude, therefore, that Atet (Ateta?)[1] is the surname of Net, the wife of Uau, and that the stela is on her behalf. It was painted with green hieroglyphs on a red ground. Nothing else remains save "deserving before Ptah (-seker ?)." To the left of the stela the

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[1] The forms [hieroglyphs] and [hieroglyphs] interchange. See inscription of Tehutinekht.

sacred oils are depicted, on the right the arrangement of the corresponding wall of Meru is exactly followed. Uau stands under a white-roofed canopy. In two horizontal lines above he is given titles 1—6, and styled "deserving before Anubis on his hill." Two broken vertical lines before his figure contain the titles 3—5 and 9. Animals are being driven towards Uau; the figures and inscriptions appear to correspond exactly to those in Pl. xix.

S. Wall. In the centre is a shallow recess bordered by coloured rectangles, and containing traces of the painted figures of Uau and his wife. Nothing remains of the inscriptions but and . On the right of the recess is the customary design of the deceased sitting at a table, to which servants bring provisions. Below it is : above has been a list of offerings. On the left are four registers. The subject of the two uppermost was the slaughter of cattle; of the next, the presentation of antelopes; of the lowest, shipping (Pl. xxiv.b).

East Wall (Plate xxi.). Following the model of the tombs of Serfka and Meru, a recess, containing standing statues, occupies the greater part of the south end. On both sides of the doorway are incised figures with titles in large engraved and coloured hieroglyphs. On the south Uau is described as "deserving before Ptah-seker."[1] He is here given the surname Au. Titles 1—5 are given to him, the epithet "true" being attached to the third. On the N. side (Plate xxiv.d), Uau is accompanied by his wife Net, and his son Meru. Uau is given his full list of honours, and his wife Net is described as "his beloved wife, enthroned in the heart, sole ornament of the king." His son is given the title, "First after the king in the Great House." A pious Copt has thought to sanctify the heathen sculpture by adding the monogram of his own deity to the wall, and, by a curious chance, has placed it almost exactly over the obliterated name of the ancient god. Near the ceiling an inscription, in incised and variously-coloured hieroglyphs, extends from this point to the S. end of the wall (Plate xxiv.a). It reads—

"May the king and Osiris . . . grant as an offering *perkheru* gifts to him in his tomb which is in the necropolis, at the festival of the opening of the year, the festival of Thoth, the *wag*-festival, the festival of the first day of the year, of Seker, and of Heat, the *Saz* festival, and the festival of the procession of Min, (namely to) the royal chancellor, etc., Uau."

In line with this, and extending from right to left over the niche and figure which are on the N. side of the doorway, is a shorter *seten di hetep* prayer, which, being in blue paint only, has nearly disappeared. The rest of the wall bears only a few traces of the original paintings. Uau seems to have been represented as engaged in sport and approached by servants with gifts. The fragments of his titles overhead contain nothing new.

N. Wall. This wall has not only suffered natural deterioration, but has been covered over with mud plaster. The subject, however, can be roughly restored. On the left hand, Uau sat before the banquet table. Overhead is a list of offerings and the prayer for thousands of gifts in two lines (titles 3 to 5). The rest of the wall is occupied by several registers of offerings above, and below by figures in three registers who approach the table with offerings. The first of these is the , who is evidently Meru, the son of Uau. Another, is entitled the , and two others, holding the same office, follow. The last figures in the lowest register are shown in Plate xxiv.c.

[1] The has been inadvertently omitted in preparing the plate.

TOMB No. 18.

BELONGING TO [hieroglyphs] HENENT AND [hieroglyphs] (?) MERU.

(PLATES XXII., XXV., XXVI.)

Titles of Meru.

1. [hieroglyphs] (?) Governor of the House.
2. [hieroglyphs] Royal Chancellor.
3. [hieroglyphs] Sole Companion.

Titles of Henent.

1. [hieroglyphs] Royal Lady.
2. [hieroglyphs] Sole Royal Ornament.
3. [hieroglyphs] Priestess of Hathor.

The romantic situation of this tomb has been noticed previously. It has been named after the wife of the occupant, because her husband's name was thought to be illegible, and is still a little doubtful. The façade (type D) is the most completely preserved in the necropolis. The recessed face in which the doorway is set has a slighter batter than the rest. There are three lintels, the uppermost extending across the whole length of the façade, the second crossing the inner face only, and the third (square) spanning the doorway. None show signs of inscription. To the S. of the façade a raised daïs and long seat has been hewn in the rock, as though to enable visitors to the tomb to enjoy the magnificent view across Egypt which is commanded from it.

The interior of the tomb is very spacious, and but for its unfinished state and the rubbish from the wells which now encumbers the floor, would have a very imposing appearance. It consists of two long rooms of almost equal length lying parallel with the frontage. They are separated from one another by a wall of rock, which has, however, been so far removed as to leave some doubt as to what the exact intention of the designer was. Presumably the tomb in this respect is much as it was left originally, and if so, the intention must have been to separate the two chambers by a row of pillars as in Tomb 37. Five were planned, but each one is now in a different state of incompleteness from its fellows. The central pillar has been broken off short at the architrave, and below it in the floor is now a rough pit. The rock has been removed between the two pillars to the north for half the height, leaving a continuous wall below, while the pillar nearest the N. wall has not been separated at all from it on the outer side, though a beginning has been made within. Of the two pillars to the south, that nearest the centre has been completely separated from its neighbour except for a slight ledge below. Like all the pillars, it is irregular in shape and has besides a very deep cutting in its N.-E. angle, suggesting, if it be original, that the pillars were to be comparatively slender and furnished with capitals akin to those in Tomb 37. The wall of rock joining the S. wall to the pillar nearest to it has only had its upper half removed, nor could the rest well be hewn out until the like had been done for the mass of rock behind, which still forms an irregular ledge projecting into the inner room.

The irregular pit in the centre of the tomb cannot be original, and may represent an abandoned attempt to sink a pit for burial.

In the outer half of the tomb there are two oblong pits and two square shafts. The shaft in front of the S. stela is not deep, for the burial vault opens out of it on the W. less than 9 ft. below the floor. A rare feature in the vault is

that it contains a list of offerings written in black ink on the N. side of its east wall (Plate xxvi.). As the N. shaft was already empty to a great depth, it seemed to me likely that a few hours' work would give admission to the vault, which, if inscribed, might yield the name and rank of the husband of Henent. Workmen were therefore set to the task, but after four days' labour, in which, owing to the large boulders in the shaft, no great progress was made, work was abandoned at a depth of nearly 48 feet without reaching the vault. The oblong pit in front of the S. stela must be very shallow as it is over the burial vault. Both this and another near the south wall are full of rubbish.

The walls of the outer room have been well hewn, but the surface, though good, has not been prepared for inscriptions. The N. wall is unfinished. On the W. are two similar false doors, that on the S. of the doorway inscribed for Henent, that on the N. for her husband. They are of the usual form, but are provided with a high altar in front, that of Henent being furnished with basins to receive offerings. The N. stela is smaller and of inferior sort, the hieroglyphs being only painted on a thin coating of plaster. Consequently little has survived. On the outer left-hand jamb can with difficulty be detected

[hieroglyphs] (?) [hieroglyphs] (?)

The prayers for Henent are to the king, to Osiris, Lord of Dadu, and to Anubis, Lord of Sepa.

The walls of the inner room are very rough. The middle portion of the back wall has been plastered, and shows traces of Coptic patterns.

TOMB No. 15.

Belonging to [hieroglyphs] Teta-ankh, with Surname [hieroglyphs] Imhetep.

(Plates XXVII.—XXX.)

Titles of the owner:—

1. [hieroglyphs] Superintendent of the House.
2. [hieroglyphs] Superintendent of the House of Pepy.
3. [hieroglyphs] Sole Companion.
4. [hieroglyphs] Lector.
5. [hieroglyphs] First after the King in the Great House.
6. [hieroglyphs] Superintendent of the New Cities.
7. [hieroglyphs] Staff of the People.
8. [hieroglyphs] *An ka mut.*
9. [hieroglyphs] (?) Constructor of Ships (?).

The tomb of Teta-ankh, whose "good name" is Imhetep, is of the customary type, the low ledge of rock having been cut back to give a more upright face, and the central part still further recessed to represent the jambs of the door. This inner face is given a batter of 1 in 15, and is crossed above by a low band of stone, the doorway itself having a rounded lintel. The exterior is rough and weathered, and, as usual, has no trace of contemporary inscription, but to the S. of the entrance there is a later incised inscription by Prince Aha, which is a little more full than that in the tomb of Uau (Plate xxix.e. For translation see p. 38.) There is also a figure of Anubis, no doubt cut in mere caprice (Plate xxix.b).

The tomb consisted of two oblong chambers, but the inner one has been enlarged and altered at a later period. The outer room has bas-reliefs on parts of two walls only, a stela, and three statues in niches. The inner chamber is furnished with a small stela, several niches—which, no doubt, once contained statues—and a running inscription. In the outer room there is a shaft eighteen and-a-half feet deep, with a good sized chamber opening out of it on the west. The inner room has three pits. That in front of the stela has a rough expansion on the S., some four feet down. The rubbish in the pit leaves it doubtful if it contains any other provision for burial. The pit to the E. of this has a recess for burial on the W. side, some three feet below the floor. On the north is a very irregular pit, now full of rubbish. In the N.E. corner of this chamber an extension has been hewn out subsequently, probably for the convenience of inhabitants; for a niche grooved to receive a shelf has been provided in the back wall. On the S., however, the top and bottom of the original E. wall remain. In it were three niches, the central one being of larger size, and these no doubt held rock-cut statues of Imhetep and his wife, for an inscription in honour of both extended over the central and southern niches. The wall between these latter has been cut away to make a more commodious divan.

The sculptured and other decorations of the tomb are as follows:—

Thickness of Walls. A deep rebate has been cut round the outer doorway inside, and seems to have removed part of the short inscriptions within the doorway. Only [hieroglyphs] can be traced on the S. side, and [hieroglyphs] on the N. The doorway to the inner room was crossed by a rounded lintel (now defaced). On the sides of the passage painted figures are dimly visible.

Outer Chamber, S. Half. The most prominent feature of this wall is the stela, which is of the usual form, painted red and inscribed in incised hieroglyphs. (Pl. xxviii.) A large part of the left side of the door has been destroyed since the days of Lepsius, but the duplicate text is preserved on the portion which is extant. In front of the stela there is a semi-circular basin in the floor, no doubt ancient and a rough substitute for the little troughs of the *hetep* altar. There were still ashes in it, but it is to be feared they were those of the last Bedawîn who sought the shelter of the tomb, and with Eastern indifference watched the inscribed hearth cracking under the heat of his fire.

The prayers on the lintel are to the king and Anubis, that they would grant *perkheru* gifts to him "while offerings last for ever,"[1] the festival days on which the offerings were to be paid being mentioned in the prayer to Osiris. On the short lintel is a prayer to the king, and to Thoth, Ruler of Het-Abet[2] ("House of the Net," i.e. Khemennu). The prayers on the long jambs run (supplying the lacunae in the text from L. *D.* 113*d*)—

"May the King and Anubis, lord of burial, He who is on his hill, grant as a grace to the Governor . . . Imhetep, that he travel on the pleasant ([hieroglyphs]) roads on which the deserving travel."

"May the King and Osiris, Lord of Dadu, grant as a grace *perkheru* gifts to him as one deserving before the King, and may the heart of his chamber be favourable to

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[1] Read [hieroglyphs]. Cf. *Annales du Service,* I. 160.

[2] The *khent* sign should be of the usual form. The reading here must surely be [hieroglyphs]. The determinative often approximates to a [hieroglyph] in shape, and here this sign is very broken. The inscriptions in the necropolis are not carefully written.

him,[1] (saying) in peace, in peace, unto the West, as one deserving before the great God." (Read).

The inscriptions on the short jambs read (using the text completed from Lepsius as appended)—

"May the King and Osiris grant as a grace that he join the soil and cross the (heavenly) waters among the excellent spirits who are in the underworld, them who have knowledge of things."

The second prayer to the King and Osiris enumerates the festivals at which offerings were desired.

S. of the stela the wall is blank. N. of it are reliefs cut on a rough surface and in bad condition. The subject (Plate xxix.) is the banquet of the deceased. Imhetep and his wife are seated on a chair before the table. A servant is represented beneath the chair, and another figure before it, to whom two names seem to be assigned, Uau and "his son Imhetep." In the topmost of the three registers to the right three servants, Mery, Ptah . . ., and Ptahmes bring gifts of birds. In the next a servant leads forward an ox; in the lowest an oryx is presented.

S. Wall. This wall has reliefs on the extreme left, where Imhetep sits, clothed in a close-fitting tunic, holding a staff in the left, a handkerchief in the right hand. Facing him is a smaller figure wearing the long wig and beard and a pointed tunic, and holding a staff in his right hand. His name is illegible. Over Imhetep's head are the three lines of titles figured in Plate xxix.d. On the right of these are hieroglyphs which probably gave the son's titles, but hardly one is legible. In his titles here Imhetep is described as "deserving before Anubis, ruler of the Divine House (*seh neter*?) and Osiris, Lord of Dadu." A short hieratic graffito in bad condition is written on this wall.

East Wall, S. Side. This space is occupied by three niches, the middle one reaching nearly to the ceiling. They contained statues, but little or nothing is now left of these. That in the N. niche seems to have been a female figure; the central one is certainly male. The sides of both niches have been notched to receive shelves; in the southern one the figure has been destroyed and a semi-circular apse cut. The niches have neatly plastered borders at the top and sides which have held inscriptions. On the right side of the most northern niche is . The fragments of the inscription over the most southern niche will be found on Plate xxix.c.

The rest of the E. wall contains no contemporary decoration or records and seems to have received none. The N. wall and the N. half of the W. wall are equally blank. But on the E. wall near the doorway a commemorative inscription by Tehutinekht is engraved in six columns of blue incised hieroglyphs. It has sustained injury since Lepsius visited the tomb, and what has disappeared has therefore been added to Plate xxx. from his copy (L. *D.* ii. 113 c), the additions being marked by open signs. For a translation see p. 39.

[1] Translation by Mr. Griffith, who notices that the tomb chamber and the Western Land are personified, and their favour sought like that of Osiris.

Inner Chamber.

W. Wall, S. Side. Close to the doorway is a niche. Of the female figure which it contained only the feet remain. Adjoining it is a very small and poor stela inscribed for Bekhent,[1] the wife of Imhetep. The stone is covered with plaster and the hieroglyphs are incised in this. They can only be made out with difficulty (Plate xxx).

The fully-spelt variant of the sign for old age is noticeable.

The inscriptions are identical on both sides, reading:—

> "May the King grant as a grace her rich burial and a goodly old age, as of one deserving before the great god, Bekhent."

[1] The name Bekhen determined by a head and another sign (a bird?), occurs in the tomb of Mera (Daressy, *Mémoires de l'Institut Égyptien*, T. iii., p. 527), and among the rock graffiti at El-Kab (*Ä. Z.*, 1875, p. 70; L. *D.* ii. 117 *u*), with determinatives which may contain the explanation of that shown on Plate xxix.

Bekhent is given only the title of Royal Acquaintance.

The South Wall contains two niches with remains of figures. That on the right is very low, the figure seeming to have been only a bust.

The East Wall. As has been said, this once contained three niches. The inscription on the remnant of the original wall above is in incised blue hieroglyphs (Plate xxix.a). It begins at the N. end of the central niche, a few signs of the vertical inscription being also saved. Bekhent is described as "his wife, beloved and praised by him."

E. Wall, N. Side. Probably all the niches had smoothed edges furnished with inscriptions, as some part of a column of hieroglyphs can be deciphered on the left side of the niche here. They are in black ink, and read

(?) (?) (?)

The name is very doubtful, and some signs, or possibly a figure of Imhetep, follow.

TOMB No. 22.

Belonging to Hepa.

(Plates XXVII., XXXI.)

Title of the owner:—

Superintendent of a Department of the Plantations of the Great House.

This small tomb lies above that of Meru and is excavated in the cliff proper. Only a rough sloping face has been given to the rock outside, and the interior contains no other provision for burial than a small and shallow pit hewn in the floor. Probably this was rather to afford standing room than burial space, the original intention, perhaps, being to excavate a recess in the rear wall, where there are signs of some such abandoned plan.

The chamber differs only from the many insignificant tombs of the same kind in the necropolis by having the E. and W. walls adorned with bas-reliefs of a simple character. They are now much injured, and their only value is the brief notice they afford of the name and rank of the person whose place of burial it was. On the E. wall Hepa, who is seated, staff in hand, is accompanied by another figure

(a son?) who is nameless. On the N. half of the W. wall he is seated before the banqueting table; on the S. half he stands in pointed tunic, staff in hand. In the latter case he is accompanied by the figure of an infant son, the outline of which has merely been incised in the roughest possible way. Some hieroglyphs of the inscription are treated similarly, others are left uncut, and the final characters have disappeared. The walls of the chamber are very rough, and only smoothed to receive the reliefs. These also are coarsely worked, and the hieroglyphs are merely incised and painted blue.

TOMB No. 6.

The face of the cliff in which this tomb is hewn is so much weathered that it cannot be determined whether there was a worked façade or no. Owing to a soft vein in the rock, the S.-W. corner of the outer chamber has given way. The sill of the entrance is now more than 4 ft. above the ground outside.

There are two chambers, the outer large and oblong in shape, the inner low and irregular, and furnished with two tunnelled recesses to the north and south. A rough pit has been excavated in the floor. At some time the tomb has been closed by a door swinging on pivots.

The outer chamber is more than 10 feet high, but owing to the soft nature of the rock and the falling away of the plaster with which the walls were faced, it is now very rough in appearance. On the N. and S. sides of the W. wall are large false doors above massive altar tables. The surface is gone; only on the upper lintel of the northernmost can be seen the beginning of a *seten di hetep* prayer (blue incised hieroglyphs). On the north wall is a niche with remains of the life-size standing figure of a man. On the N. half of the E. wall are two similar constructions. On the body of the southern figure is a graffito in bold red characters:—

ⲁⲡⲁⲫⲟⲓⲃⲁⲙ
ⲙⲱⲛ ⸗ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲁⲡⲁ
ⲡⲁⲙⲟⲩⲛ ⸗ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅ ⲁⲡⲁ
ϭⲁⲗⲁϣⲓⲣⲉ ⸗ ⲙ̅ⲛ̅
ⲁⲡⲁ ⲗⲱⲧⲥ

"Father Phoebammon, and Father Pamoun, and Father Kalashire, and Father Lōts."

Underneath in finely-formed letters is ⲥⲟⲫⲟⲥ, and beneath this are two rows of three arched niches, like tiny pigeon-holes. The doorway has a rebate all round it; over it is the monogram ⲓ̅ⲥ̅ ⲭ̅ⲥ̅ and traces of painted figures facing S. The wall to the right of the doorway was originally occupied by a large painted figure with a vertical inscription in two columns. A line of large hieroglyphs ran also under the ceiling, but scarcely a sign is legible. Under the figure near the floor are visible the ends of five columns of an inscription which exactly corresponds with the restoration record of Tehutinekht. Further south is a niche with mutilated figure as before, in which a semicircular niche has been fashioned later. There is a similar niche in the south wall. From the few traces of ink which remain, a list of offerings seems to have occupied a large part of the S. wall. The chamber is provided with two square burial shafts, which are at present filled with rubbish to within two or three yards of the mouth.

TOMB No. 39.[1]

"Coptic Dwelling."

(Plate XXXIII.)

This chamber is hewn in the rocky slope above the tomb of Urarna, and probably belongs to the VIth Dynasty, though there is little evidence of date. The front is deeply set back in the hill-side, and is plain, save for the long lintel band of stone across the top.[2] On each side of the doorway a square niche has been fashioned and grooved to receive a shelf, suggesting that a dwelling was at some time built round the outer court. The interior affords a strange contrast to the other tombs. It is whitewashed, and all the available wall space is occupied by arched recesses or smaller square niches. Coptic crosses and graffiti are scarcely needed to inform us whose handiwork is before us. None of the present features of the chamber seems to be original, and perhaps even the extension on the south may be a later addition. A mark on the ceiling suggests that the original chamber was only half the present depth. It may have been left unfinished. The effect of the alterations made by the Copts has been to transform the ancient sepulchre into a commodious dwelling-place, though probably only a Western mind would fully appreciate the cool cleanliness of this cave dwelling, and the liberal provision of cupboards and divans. Mr. Newberry had already noted the various ends which the constructions serve. On the north of the doorway, for instance, is a niche where a porter might sit, and in the corner is a rock-cut stand for holding one of those porous vessels of water through the sides of which the liquid filters and falls into a basin placed below to receive it. South of the door two shallow divans have been hollowed out of the wall; they have a vaulted ceiling and are connected by a little aperture which would be convenient for speech between the occupants. In the S. wall is another and larger recess of this sort, and on the E. side is a fourth, with a smaller one on each side, which would hold single persons. At one or both ends of the divan are raised ledges to support a cushion or mat. The upper part of most of these niches is decorated in a simple way by red, yellow, or black lines, which mark out the space into rectangles crossed by diagonals. They are bordered by broad red bands, by a border formed by a zig-zag line between two parallels, and having a spot in each triangle, or by a simple succession of squares containing a spot. On the ceiling of one are three Coptic crosses with the sacred monogram ΑⲰ. The south divan, which is evidently the place of honour, has a cupboard niche at the back, and a raised ledge of rock for the feet in front. Close to this is a tiny niche, which we may judge, from its shape and blackened condition, to have held the lamp of the household (Mr. Newberry.) The walls appear to have received three successive coats of whitewash, the lower two of which are decorated. Some fragmentary Arabic and Coptic graffiti are to be seen. Others in the latter tongue may be hidden under the coating, for one of some length (thirteen short lines), but too broken to admit of translation, is visible in the northernmost niche on the E. wall.[3]

[1] Numbered 38 within.

[2] It faces N.W., but for convenience of description it is supposed here to face due W.

[3] It contains a date, but Mr. Crum is unable to decide between 751 and 1151 A.D

TOMB No. 37.[1]

"Pillared Tomb."

(Plate XXXIV.)

This tomb, with No. 39, is on an intermediate level between the lower and the upper ranges. The long façade has recessed jambs, surmounted by a lintel band. It is plain, from the *débris* of mud-brick walls and from other signs, that a lean-to dwelling was erected against the front wall at some period. The entrance has a round lintel.

The main chamber within is oblong in shape and of imposing dimensions, which now are the more apparent since the row of pillars, which originally supported the roof and divided the chamber along its length, is broken away. Nothing remains but the four capitals and the foot of one of the columns. They no longer have any value, either as supports or as decorations, yet in the history of architecture these remnants may have a unique place. The pillars are without marked abacus or base, but an architrave has been left above, and a pilaster against each wall. The pillar was thus left plain and square, tapering slightly towards the top. The northernmost capital, which is the shallowest, and has a somewhat more finished outline than the others, has also grooves in the middle of the four sides, the four corners being in this case rounded off instead of showing a sharply defined angle.[2] The grooves are but rough and taper away towards the top. This type is quite unknown, and the appearance of all four capitals suggests an unfinished state. If then we seek the final form, we can hardly find it elsewhere than in the open lotus flower capital, depicted on the sides of the pillars in the tomb of Khunes[3] (L. *D.* i. 57), and in bas-reliefs (Plates ix., x.). The abacus there shown might still have been provided here, though the northernmost capital is somewhat shallow for this. With what amount of detail the architect intended the capitals to be furnished when cut out of living rock cannot be determined. The remains we have here do not promise a very successful issue to what was, perhaps, a unique experiment.

The walls of the main chamber are very regularly hewn, but have not been given a sufficiently fine surface for bas-reliefs. They must have been intended to remain bare, or to receive an overlay of plaster. On the N. side of the W. wall is a little square recess, on each side of which is a little pilaster with a decorated capital, cut as a bas-relief. It is of course a late addition.

A small shrine, raised three steps above the outer chamber, opens out of the east wall opposite the entrance. A deep lintel has been left above the doorway, but this, like all the rest of the tomb, carries no inscription. The inner chamber is very small and low ; rough recesses have been hewn on three sides.

[1] Numbered 39 over the door within.

[2] The quatrefoil section projected on the floor in Plate xxxiv. is rather too pronounced and regular.

[3] The shaft of the column in this example is not only tapering, but is divided into two rounded shafts. The evident intention of the artist is to represent conveniently a column composed of four stems or shafts as at Beni Hasan (L. *D.* i. 60). Now, on the fragment of pillar left on the floor in Tomb 37 there are indications of rough grooves in the middle of two of the sides. They might be treated as accidental were it not for the coincidence, which suggests that the pillars also were not finished but intended to be quatrefoil in section, and perhaps, also, to be furnished with a slight circular base.

The provision for burial is not quite like that adopted in any other of the large tombs. Trenches in the floor near the doorway of the shrine suggest that a shaft had been contemplated. In the end it was decided to avoid the difficulty of lowering the coffin down a narrow shaft, by making the approach to the vault a downward slope. The quarrymen, therefore, ran a gallery into the face of the S. wall at its W. corner, but had made no calculation to avoid the small tombs outside. Consequently, at their first attempt they ran into no less than three of these (37 *b* and *c* and 38). Forced to abandon this gallery, they drove a similar one a little further to the east, and running steeply down till they thought themselves out of danger, decreased the slope and excavated a good sized chamber at the end. In doing so, however, they once more broke into the chamber of a pit-tomb (No. 37*a*). Perhaps the short gallery in the N. wall represents a third enterprise. The unintelligent nature of much of the work at Sheikh Saïd could not be better illustrated.

12. The Commemorative Inscriptions.[1]

A feature of the tombs at Sheikh Saïd is, or rather was, the later inscriptions added by descendants of the ruling families, who, on visiting the ancient necropolis of the capital in which their ancestors rested, took this form of showing their reverence for those who had preceded them. The intervening years or centuries had been deeply troubled; but when at length settled suzerainty again gave importance to the nomarchs they were glad to strengthen their new-found dignity by claiming descent (perhaps on slender grounds) from the former rulers, who were buried either at Sheikh Saïd or in that ravine to the north where later chiefs, seeking it may be during times of conflict a more secure site than the banks of the Nile afforded, had hewn out modest sepulchres, and so formed the nucleus of that necropolis of the Middle Kingdom known to us by the name of El Bersheh.

The first to show these marks of attention to the sepulchres of the earlier princes of the nome was one Aha, "*Ha*-prince and superintendent of the royal house," who incised upon the outer wall of the tomb of Imhetep (Plate xxix.E) the words, "This was done for himself, as his monument to his fathers who were before him."[2] He repeated it in a shorter form on the doorway of the tomb of Uau.[3] This record of homage and remembrance seems itself to have constituted the memorial; no mention is made of any rehabilitation of the tomb. Additional inscriptions of Aha may have existed at Sheikh Saïd; otherwise the selection of these two tombs would seem to have been founded on some knowledge of his ancestry. The date of Prince Aha has not been determined; his memorial seems at any rate to have been earlier, and perhaps more sincere, than the longer and more pretentious inscription of the nomarch Tehutinekht, who claimed to have been the first to rescue the tombs of his forefathers from the decay into which they had fallen. An inscription to this effect, and repeated in identically the same terms, was set by him in a prominent position in the tombs of Meru (L. *D.* ii. 112*e*; see Plate xxi.), Uau (*ib.* 113*b*, now gone), Imhetep (Plate xxx.[4]), Tomb 6 (only the ends of the columns remain and do not include the name), and a tomb at El Bersheh (*El Bersheh* ii., pp. 11, 57). In the last case the fragments of the inscription, including the name, everywhere support its

[1] See also Griffith in *El Bersheh* ii., p. 10.

[2] Reading [hieroglyphs]. F. Ll. G.

[3] [hieroglyphs]

[4] The solid signs represent what is left of the inscription; the open signs give the additions contained in L. *D.* ii. 113*c*.

identity with that at Sheikh Saïd.[1] The records, which are in all cases in small incised blue hieroglyphs, seem to have been the object of special malice or greed; only fragments of them remain. The inscription is translated by Mr. Griffith as follows (*El Bersheh* ii., p. 10)[2]:—

"This was done for himself as his monument to his fathers who are in the necropolis, the possessors of this spot, making firm that which was found ruined,[3] renewing what was decayed, when behold[4] this had not been done by the ancestors who stood in former days,[5] by the *ha*-prince, regulator of the two thrones, superintendent of the priests,[6] superintendent of the king's house, superintendent of the South Country,[7] great chief of the Hare Nome, mighty in his office, great in his dignity, of advanced station in the king's house,[8] Tehutinekht, born of Teta."[9]

Mr. Fraser notes the name "Tehutinekht, born of Teta," in a tomb on the south side of the Wady Deir en Nakhleh (*El Bersheh* ii., p. 65), but we are not informed whether it is in the small blue hieroglyphs which characterize the commemorative inscriptions, or whether it would point to Tehutinekht as the owner of the grave. It may have been the recognition of names favoured by his family rather than an exact knowledge of his descent which led Tehutinekht to choose these tombs at Sheikh Saïd as those of ancestors. The wives of Uau and Meru were called Teta, apparently; and Imhetep's other name was Teta-ankh. The names Serfka and Urarna, on the other hand, may well have sounded archaic, for they were not common in their own time. It may be remarked that in none of the tombs containing his inscription is there the least trace of renewal or restoration. Yet in most, if not all of them, there were walls half decorated, or scenes left unsculptured, which it would have been a commendable act of piety to complete. The renovation therefore seems to have been, at the best, of a superficial sort, and to have set an example of self-advertisement pranking as piety which the New Kingdom was not slow to adopt and improve upon.

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[1] The tomb consists of a small chamber with two wells (not square), a niche, a recess, and a short gallery. It contains no trace of original inscriptions, but is daubed with Coptic crosses. The inscription is on the back wall.

[2] The text followed will be for convenience that of Plate xxx., the lacunae being supplied from the other examples as given by Lepsius, or made good from existing fragments. The few variants in the text will be noticed.

[3] Read .

[4] Read .

[5] Read .

[6] Read .

[7] Read .

[8] Var. .

[9] Read var. (tomb of Meru).

III.—THE STORY OF THE NECROPOLIS.

Old Kingdom tombs are commonly very deficient in personal data. Even brief biographical notices are rare, and any mention of parentage rarer still; and though casual indications of the reign during which the occupant lived are not infrequent, they are seldom conclusive. If no more than this is to be looked for, it can hardly be expected that the scanty ruins of Sheikh Saïd, where the finger of time or of man has often destroyed, as if maliciously, the one word which might have proved the clue to an item of history, will throw much independent light on the dim story of provincial life in Egypt during the Old Kingdom. What the evidential value of the fragments gathered together in this volume may be, time will determine: it is only too likely that they will comprise the whole monumental record of the Hare Nome prior to the XIth Dynasty.

South of the Faiyûm, records of the Ancient Kingdom first become numerous in the XIth Dynasty, even if we count the brief and difficult inscriptions rescued from destruction at Abydos by the practical genius of Professor Petrie. Neither in Middle nor in Upper Egypt is there a supply of material for the history of the IVth and Vth Dynasties like that afforded by the cemeteries of Mêdum, Saqqâreh, and Gizeh. Recurring gaps in the histories of the provincial capitals, as recovered from their cemeteries, demonstrate the instability of the conditions on which the prosperity and culture of a district depended; though, of course, changes in style of burial need not have run perfectly parallel with changes in the life of the people. It seems as though at this time a high level of culture could only be gained by concentration round the seat of government. What the capital gained in brilliance and power must often have been drawn from the provinces, and they could only recoup themselves by a close association with the metropolis such as they were little inclined to seek voluntarily. As the seat of government shifted and the strength of its administrative hold on a province waned, great and sudden changes might take place in Nomes which had lost or failed to acquire independent life and culture. We might apply to Egypt a conception which they themselves held of the realm of the dead, of which one division only at a time was brilliantly illuminated by the passing of the Divine King and his train, the rest of the land and its inhabitants being visited by the dawn or left in darkness according as the transient glory advanced or receded.

Such a brief illumination of the Hare Nome may be represented by the existence at Sheikh Saïd of the two tombs (Nos. 24 and 25) belonging to Serfka (?) and Urarna. Since the tombs adjoin one another, and the eldest son of the former bears not only the rare name Urarna ("Great is that which I have done"),[1] but also the local princely title, it is more than probable that these high officials were father and son. The former was priest of Khufu and Userkaf; the latter of Ne-user-ra. The period between Userkaf and Ne-user-ra was probably considerable, but might have been covered by the combined rule of father and son. But there is no need to

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[1] The only occurrences of the name known to me are on the stela of Thethy in the British Museum (Lieblein, *Dict.* 10, reign of Khafra?) and Mar. *Mon.* D. 20 (about this period?). The three modes of writing the 1st person singular are interestingly exemplified by the name [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs].

suppose that Serfka's priesthood of Userkaf was exercised during the lifetime of that king, since that of Khufu certainly was not so held. The great superiority of the tomb of Urarna in artistic merit is easily accounted for, if, as seems likely, it is not the work of local artists, but of a celebrated craftsman, whose services were sought for the purpose. Nevertheless, such initiative would show that Urarna was not destitute of the spirit which his father had encouraged by the name he bestowed upon him; a name in which may perhaps be detected the ambition of a house raised to unusual honours. The titles assumed by these two Vth Dynasty princes are different from those borne by the later rulers of the district, though similar to those in use at this period in the Oryx and Heracleopolite Nomes. It may be that such titles as "Leader of the land of Un," belonged to the territorial nobles of Middle Egypt before unity of administration prevailed throughout the land, and the king became the sole source of honours. "Superintendent of the new towns" is a title almost unknown outside this Nome."[1]

With the death of Urarna comes a great break in the official history of the Nome. If at the accession of the Vth Dynasty, or soon afterwards, we may imagine a closer alliance of the province with the capital, and a consequent development of the former—reflected in the inscribed tombs which now appear in the necropolis of its chief city—this had but a short life, and perhaps in its lapse foreshadowed the fall of the dynasty. That there was a break in fact as well as in records is shown by the disappearance of certain titles, and the appearance of others which the two earlier rulers had not held. Nor was it peculiar to this nome. The necropolis of the Oryx Nome at Zâwiyet el Meiyitîn shows the same features. There also two large inscribed tombs (L. *D.* i. 57, 2 and 6) are found which appear to be contemporary with Tombs 24 and 25, and are followed by a gap of about the same duration. Assa, whose reign seems to have been full of brilliance at the capital, may have lost his hold none the less on the more distant parts of his kingdom.[1] At any rate it was about this time that the tombs of Sheikh Saïd relapsed into the poverty and inarticulateness from which they had so suddenly emerged.

It is not perhaps a coincidence that the re-awakening is synchronous with the rule of a new dynasty, and it would be as easy to conjecture as it would be difficult to establish a connection between the two events; for we know nothing of what the rise of the VIth Dynasty meant.

It is difficult to say whether Imhetep, whose proper name is Teta-ankh, and who is Governor of the House of Pepy, or Meru-Beba, who held a similar office (for Teta as well?), is to be regarded as the first to reassume full official dignities and duties in the nome. On the whole, Imhetep seems to have the better claim.[3] The two have much the same titles. The titles [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs], [hieroglyphs] and those of the royal priesthoods cease to be held, and are superseded by [hieroglyphs] *heqa het* as highest title, accompanied by *tep kher seten per aa*, *semer wati* and *kheri heb*, and to these Imhetep and Meru add the two offices, often held together, of *an ka mut* and *med rekhyt*.[4]

---

[1] It is held by Nek-ankh at Teḥneh.

[2] Mr. Griffith suggests as an alternative that centralization round the court of a strong king sapped the life of the provinces.

[3] It must be admitted that there are several features in the form of his tomb which speak for the later date suggested by its situation.

[4] It is noticeable that the princes of the Oryx Nome were holding priesthoods of "the house of the *ka* of Pepy," while those of the Hare Nome were holding this governorship of the house of Pepy; never *vice versâ*. Throughout this dynasty the latter no longer held offices connected with the cult of the deified king.

Imhetep hewed out his tomb in a projecting shelf of rock, as his predecessors had done, and the very rough and incomplete bas-reliefs witness to the difficult resuscitation of an art which, in this locality, had never got beyond a crude stage. The extensive decoration of the inner chamber, and the provision of a false door in it, were innovations, the former of which was not followed by his successors.

Meru evidently rose to greater dignities, and his tomb shows a considerable advance in artistic standards; for, though the work in general is poor, the statues and hieroglyphs on the east wall of the outer chamber bore a brave appearance. Meru assumes for the first time the title "Royal Chancellor," and "Superintendent of the South," the latter perhaps an honorary rather than an administrative office, or having a more restricted scope than is suggested by the name. Four offices are assigned to him which no other prince of this Nome holds (Nos. 5, 12, 13, 14 in the list, p. 24). His wife shares with him the priesthood of Hathor. This greater importance may be due to a better understanding with the reigning king, whose "House" and the offices associated with it are given unusual prominence. Meru may perhaps have been the son of Imhetep. He selected a site for his tomb near that of the father of Urarna, and followed its example in furnishing the inmost chamber with seated statues of himself and his wife. A son, Uau, appears to have been his heir.

Uau, therefore, whose tomb (No. 19) is next in situation and whom other considerations place next in sequence, may be regarded as the son of Meru. Although the occurrence of the title "Governor of the House of Pepy" is very doubtful, it is probable that Uau lived during the long reign of Pepy II.[1] With him the title "Superintendent of the New Towns" drops out of use, and the important dignities of "*Ha*-Prince and Great Chief of the Hare Nome" appear for the first time in this Nome. The latter title seems to have come in with the VIth Dynasty.[2] It represents, perhaps, the confirmation by the king of the rule of the hereditary prince of the Nome. As heir of the ruling family he is "*Hati*"; when his succession to the rulership of the house is sanctioned by his suzerain he becomes "Great Chief." Art was at so low a level in Khemennu that the designer of tomb scenes found his outlines spoilt by the clumsy sculptors (*v.* p. 26). It was very difficult, besides, to obtain an even surface for bas-reliefs in tombs excavated in the mountain side. Incised hieroglyphs had already come into use for the inscriptions on stelae and elsewhere, and now the further step downward was taken of coating the rough walls with plaster and painting the scenes on this foundation. The tomb of Uau is in a transition stage, and includes several methods of decoration, but bas-reliefs have disappeared. Uau had a son Meru, whose titles indicate him to be the intended or actual successor of his father. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, therefore, we may assume his identity with the owner of the next tomb (No. 18), whose name and titles, if they have been correctly read, closely coincide.

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[1] The association of Tehutinekht, son of Tehutinekht, Great Chief of the Hare Nome, &c., with a cartouche of Mery-Ra (Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, Pl. xliv.) can only be one of juxtaposition, as the inscription is as closely parallel in style and titles to the records of the princes of the Middle Kingdom at El Bersheh as it is diverse from those of the Old Kingdom at Sheikh Saïd. Frazer records that the cartouche is separated from the rest of the inscription by a line cut in the stone, and concludes that they are of different periods. (*Proceedings Soc. of Bib. Archaeology*, xvi. 3). But the cartouche also, as given by Petrie, is suspicious in form. Can it be that of Ka-meryra of the IXth—Xth Dynasties, and the connection still be possible?

[2] This may be the first mention in Egyptian history of the Great Chieftainship. Aba, however, who was given this office in the *Du-ef* Nome by Merenra, may be a little earlier (*Deir el Gebrâwi* i.). It does not occur at Zâwiyet el Meiyitîn, though the title *Hati* appears once there (Tomb 10).

The tomb of Uau had been boldly cut in the cliff itself instead of in the lower terraces. Meru II. emulated this by going half way up the cliff for a site. But the interior only shows the skill of the quarryman, and even he was not allowed to complete his task. Meru's succession in the line of degradation is seen in the bare walls of his tomb, on which no plaster remains or perhaps was ever laid. The two false doors for husband and wife are found here, as in the tomb of Uau, but are provided with square altars, on which they stand. That of Meru is inscribed only in paint.

Following the northward sequence of tombs past several intervening chambers of small size, we find two large tombs in the cliff face (Nos. 6 and 3), which, like the tomb of Meru II., were furnished with two false doors and altars in the outer room, and decorated for the most part with paintings on plaster. No. 6, therefore, which contains a restoration inscription by Tehutinekht, and perhaps No. 3 also, may be assigned to later nomarchs. Tomb 37, from its architectural similarity to the tomb of Meru and Henent, might be assigned to the same period, but the absence of stelae and the changed place of burial throw it out of the line of succession. It is princely only in size. Tomb 39 retains nothing original by which its relative position can be assigned. The tomb of Hepa alone remains to show that inscribed tombs were not the monopoly of princes. The position of his tomb and his name would suggest that he lived in the early years of the VIth Dynasty, and the rough bas-reliefs have a certain likeness to those of Imhetep.

In spite then of the unpromising nature of the materials at Sheikh Saïd, we can trace, as in a worn and broken mirror, some of the varying fortunes of this province, and may hope that our attempts to reconstruct its history during the Old Kingdom will be somewhat less hazardous in future. The converging, though broken, lines of evidence enable a sequence of records to be established; and if little can yet be done to clothe this with history, the shadowy outline which it makes possible will no doubt take a firmer shape in the slowly gaining light. Here as elsewhere the end of the Old Kingdom is lost in almost complete darkness. As for the relics of those widely separated days, when Christianity had expelled the ancient religion only to prove in its turn helpless before Islam, these merely suffice to show that the old necropolis had then a fresh story to tell, had art once more given it speech.

INDEX.

(*Proper names occurring in the tombs are printed in Capitals.*)

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PLATES.

ERRATUM.

In the titles of PLATES III. to VI. read "Serfka (?)" for "Urarna I.", and in those of PLATES VII. to XVI. read "Urarna" for "Urarna II."


Level terrace under final ridge.
280 ft above the cultivation.
HENENT
Ruined Tombs
Perpendicular cliff
Perpendicular cliff 110 ft high
UAU
MERU
KEPA
SERFKA
URARNA
Watershed
SECTION ON A.B.
Level of Upper Range
Scale
Scale of Survey
Magnetic North
Cultivated land

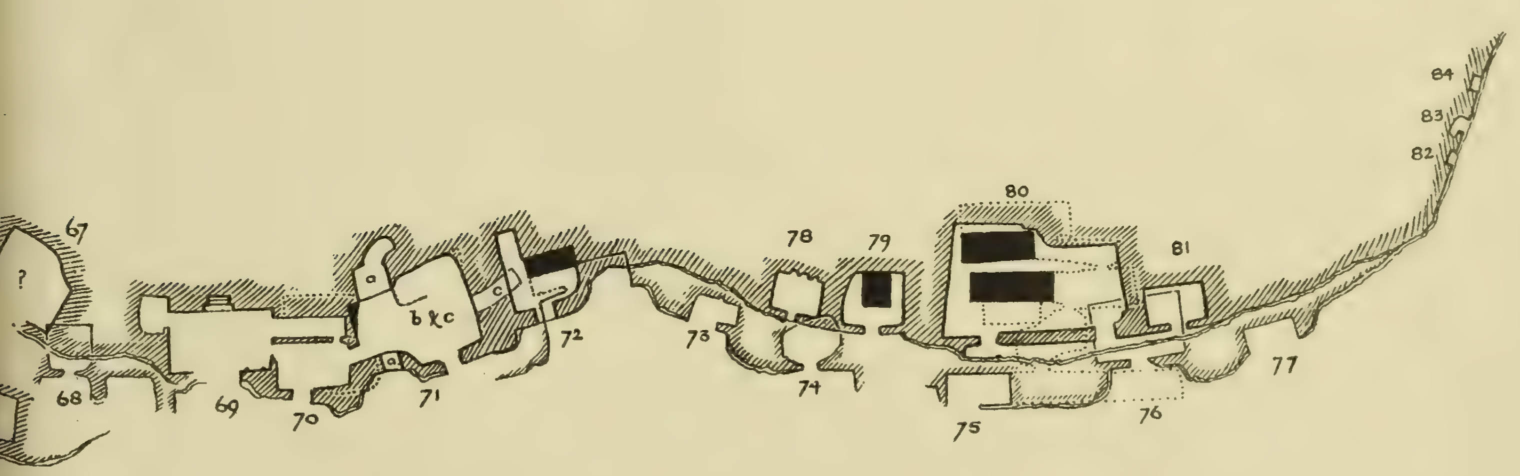


Scale $\frac{1}{256}$

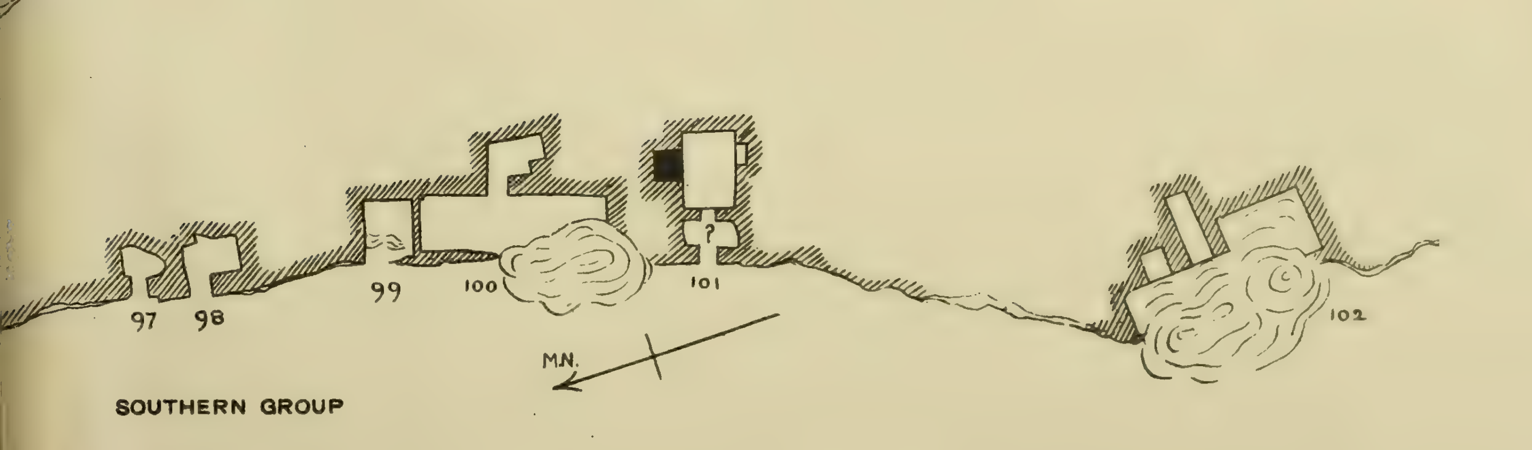
Height 7'
8
Height 5'
9
Height 2' 6"
10
11
12
13
14 (façade only)
14a
14b
Remains of Mud-brick walls.
M.N.
15
16
17

Scale.

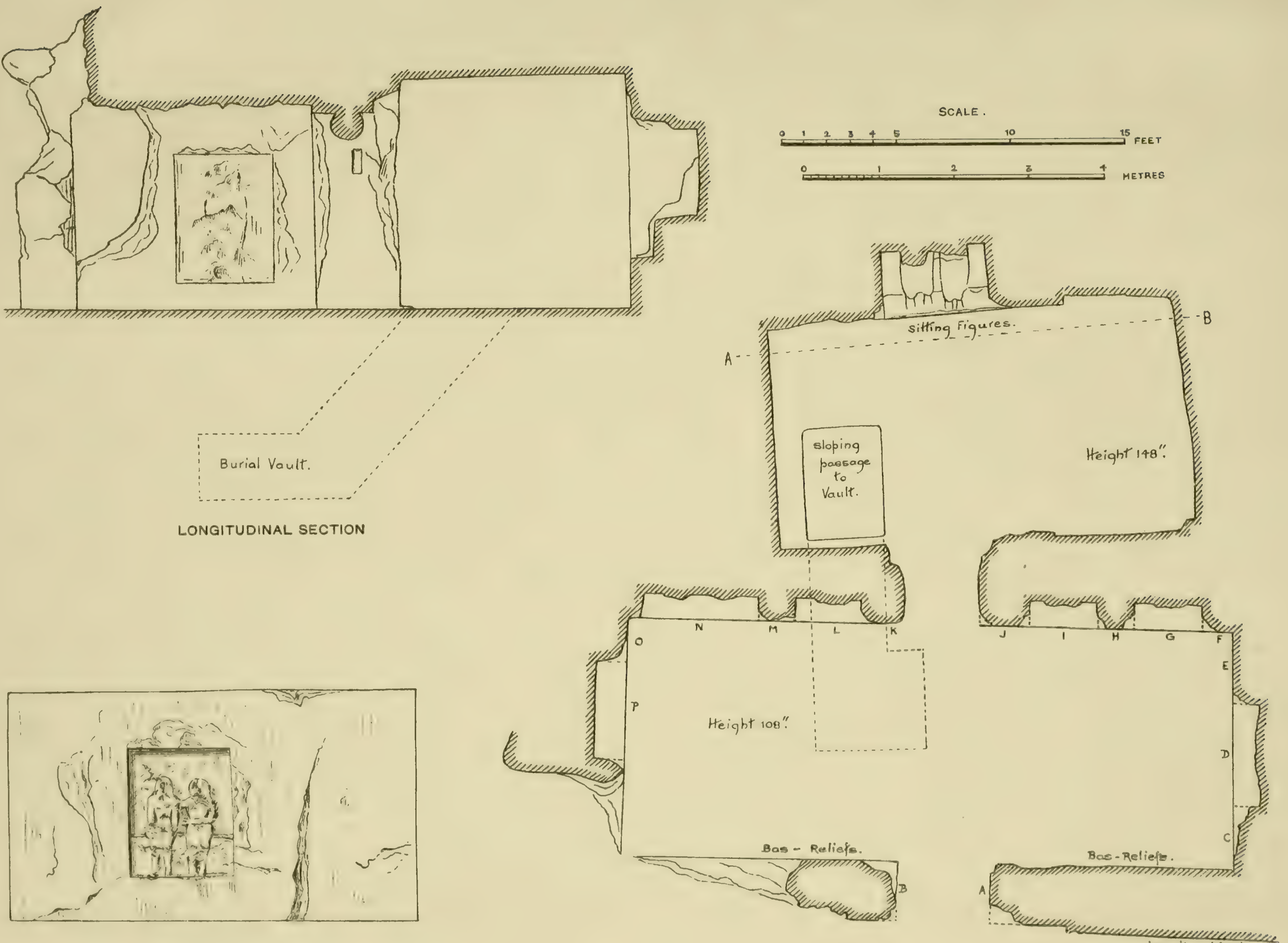
FEET. 0 5 10 20 30 40 50
METRES. 0 5 10 15



UPPER RANGE



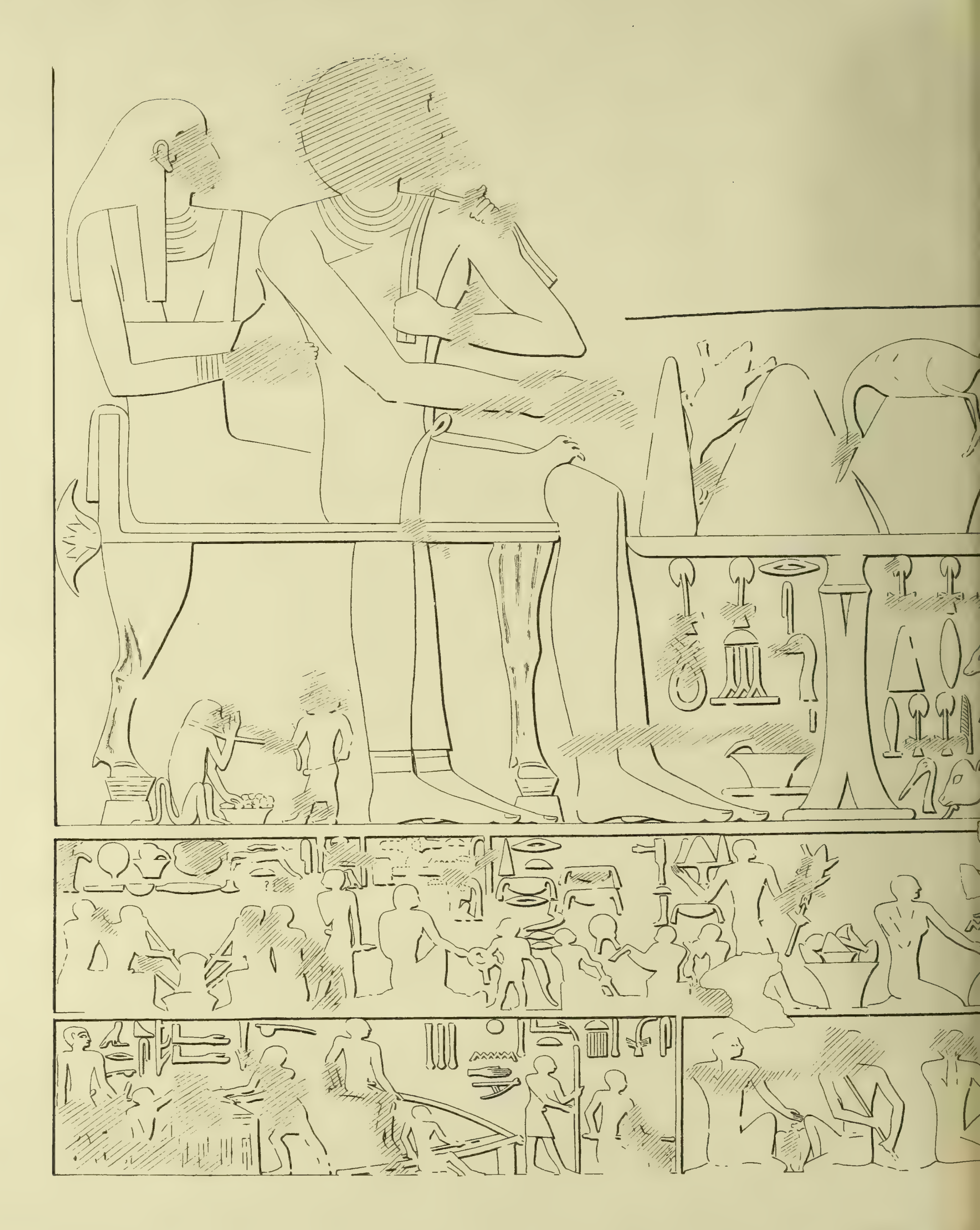
SOUTHERN GROUP



LONGITUDINAL SECTION

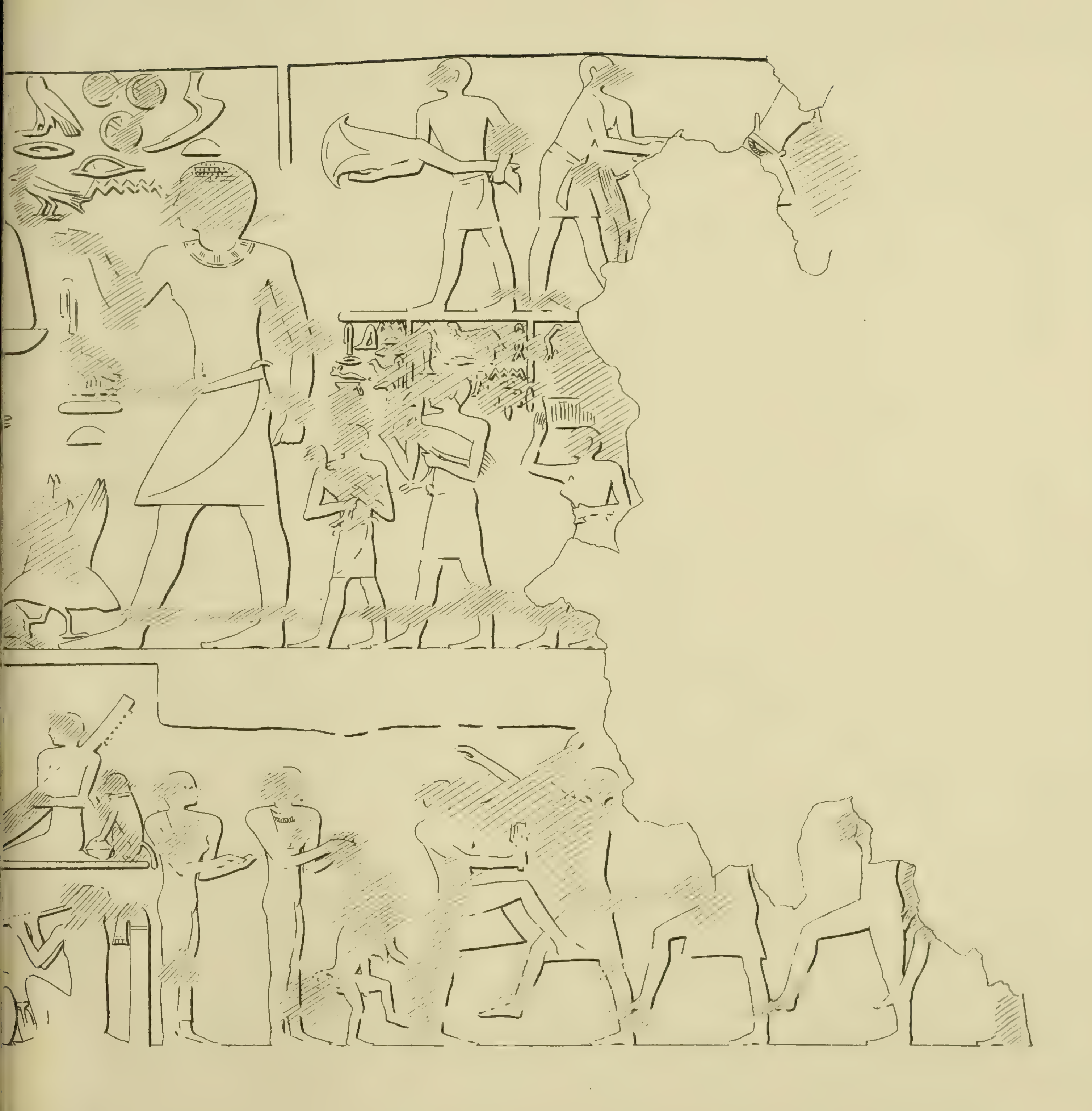
SECTION ON A.B.

PLAN



WEST WAL

Scale 1/7



ꜣUTH HALF.

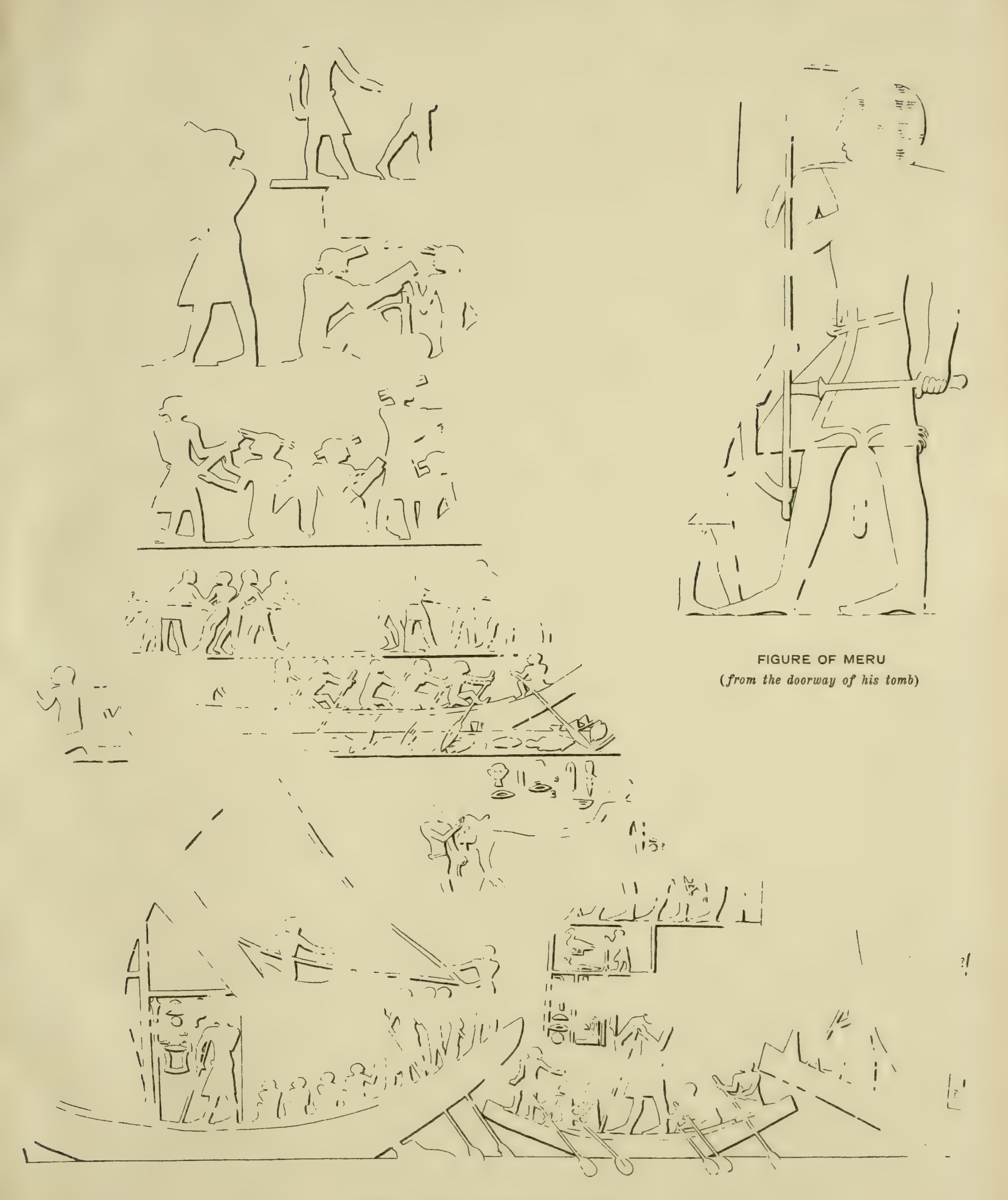
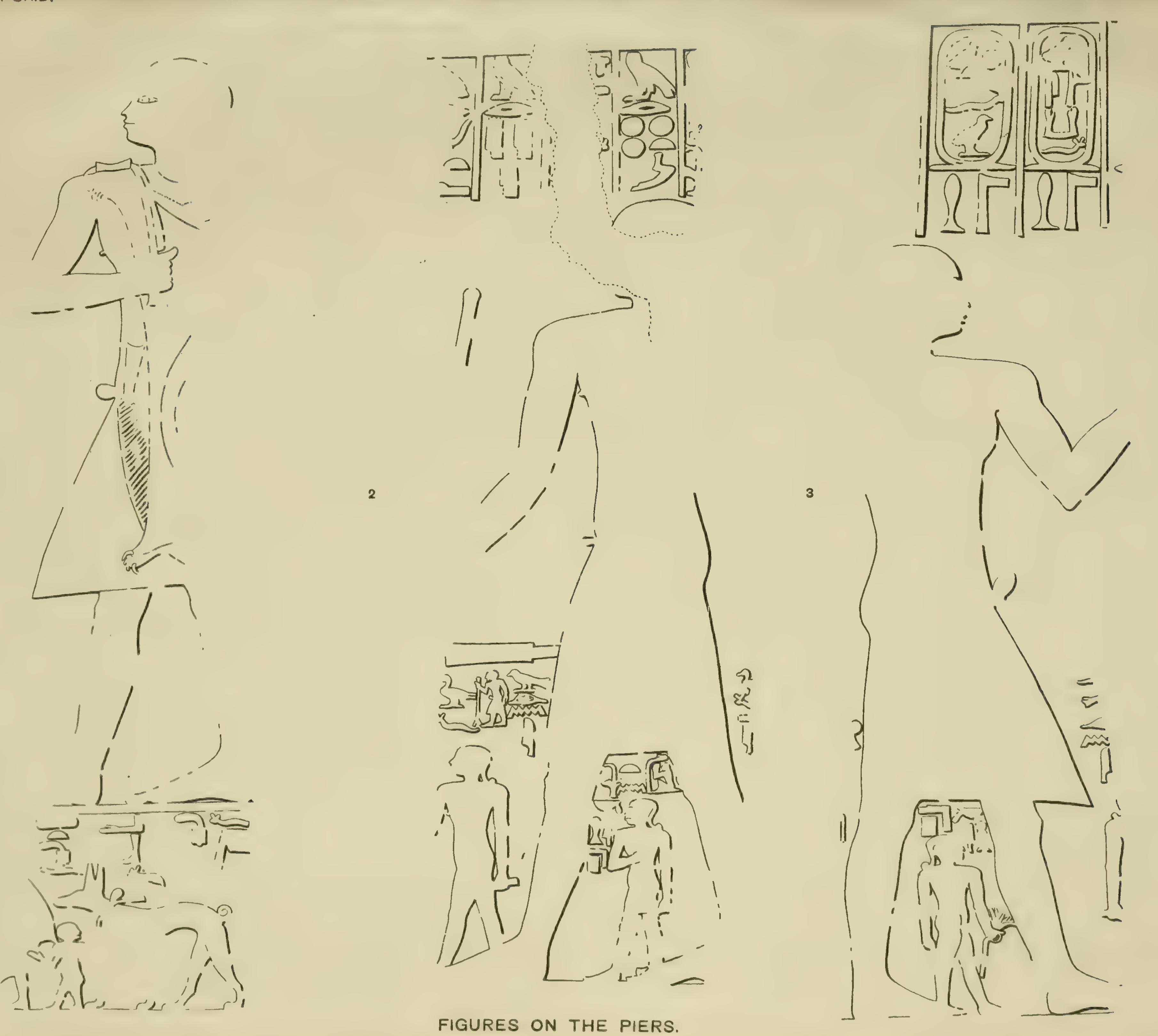


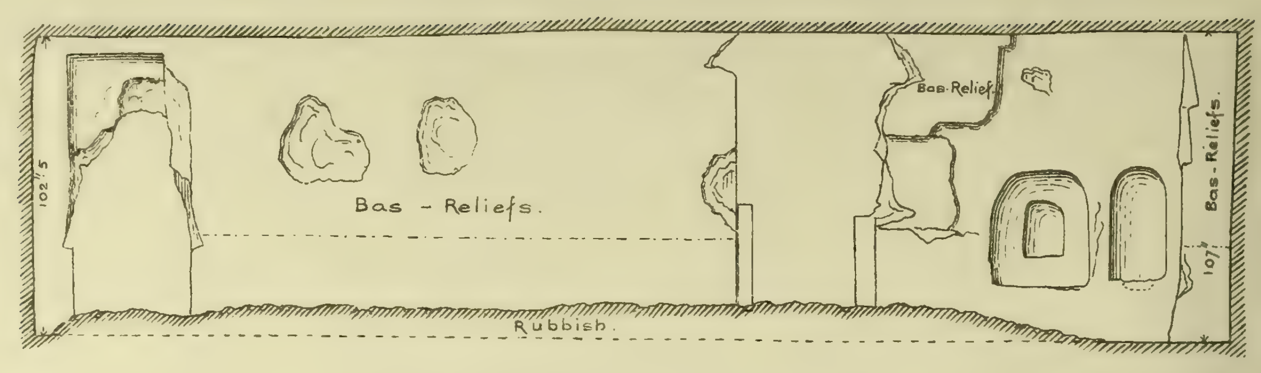
FIGURE OF MERU
(*from the doorway of his tomb*)

WEST WALL—NORTH HALF.

Scale ⅛



FIGURES ON THE PIERS.



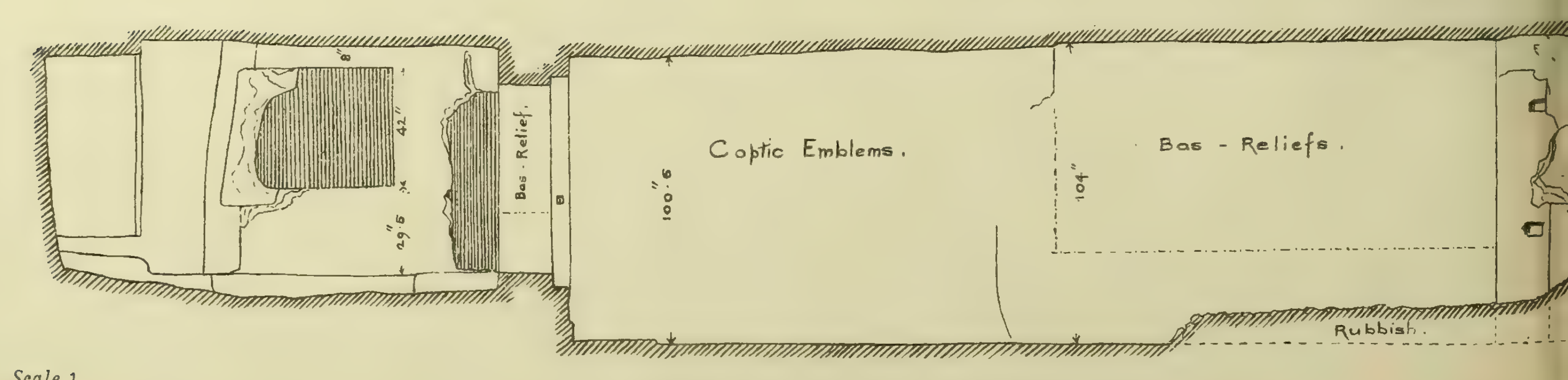
SECTION LOOKING NORTH-WEST.

Well

SECTION LOOKING SOUTH-EAST.

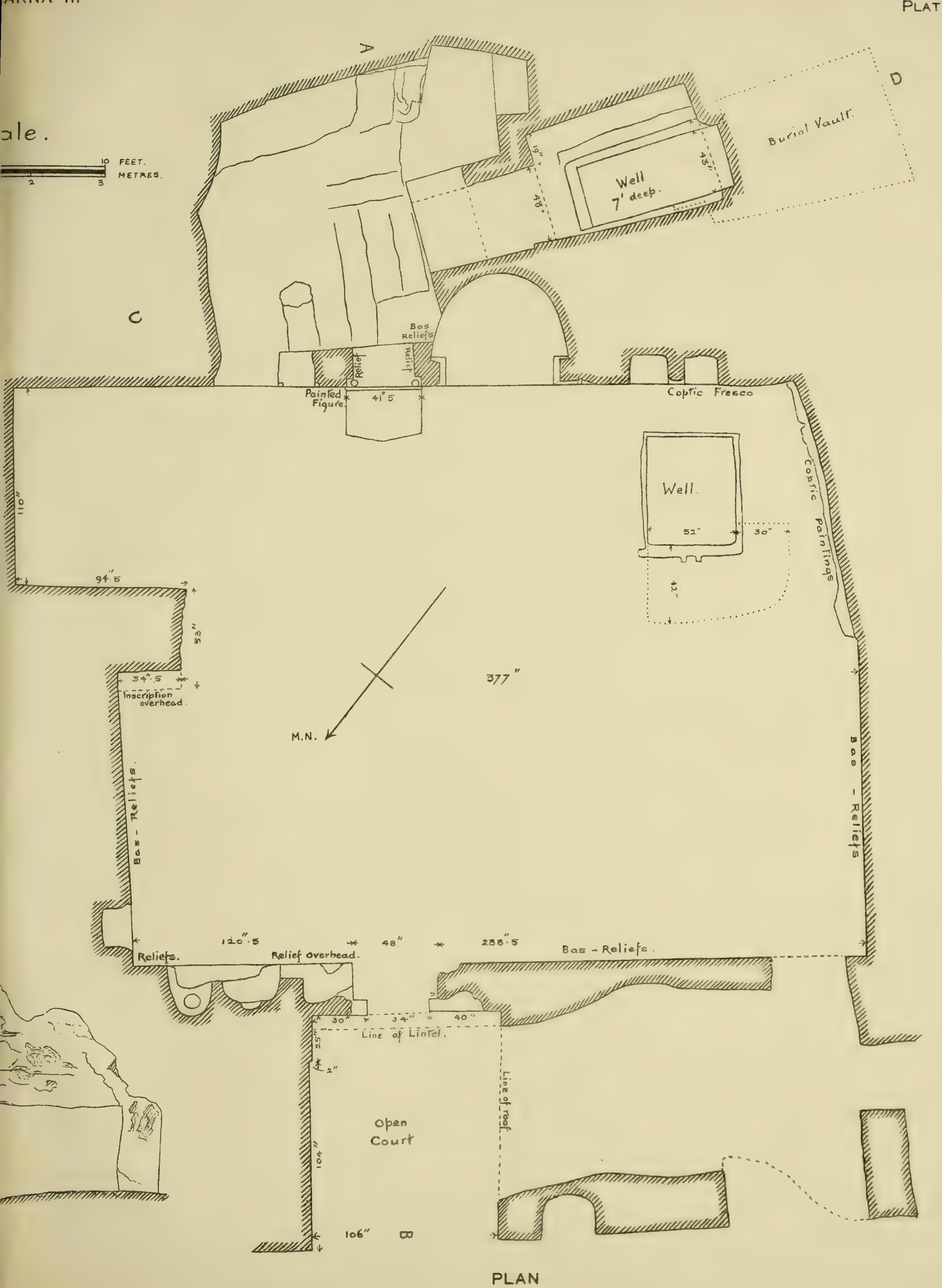
Ledge
Well
Burial Vault.

SECTION ON C.D. LOOKING SOUTH-EAST.



Scale $\frac{1}{64}$

SECTION ON A.B. LOOKING SOUTH-WEST.


ale.
10 FEET.
METRES.
2
3
A
D
Burial Vault.
Well
7' deep.
19"
43"
48"
C
Bas Reliefs
Relief
Relief
Painted Figure.
41" 5
Coptic Fresco
Well.
52"
30"
42"
Coptic Paintings
110"
94.5
53"
34".5
Inscription overhead.
377"
M.N.
Bas - Reliefs.
Bas - Reliefs
120".5
48"
238".5
Reliefs.
Relief overhead.
Bas - Reliefs.
30"
34"
40"
Line of Lintel.
25"
2"
Line of roof
Open Court
104"
106"
B

PLAN



WEST WALL—SHEEP



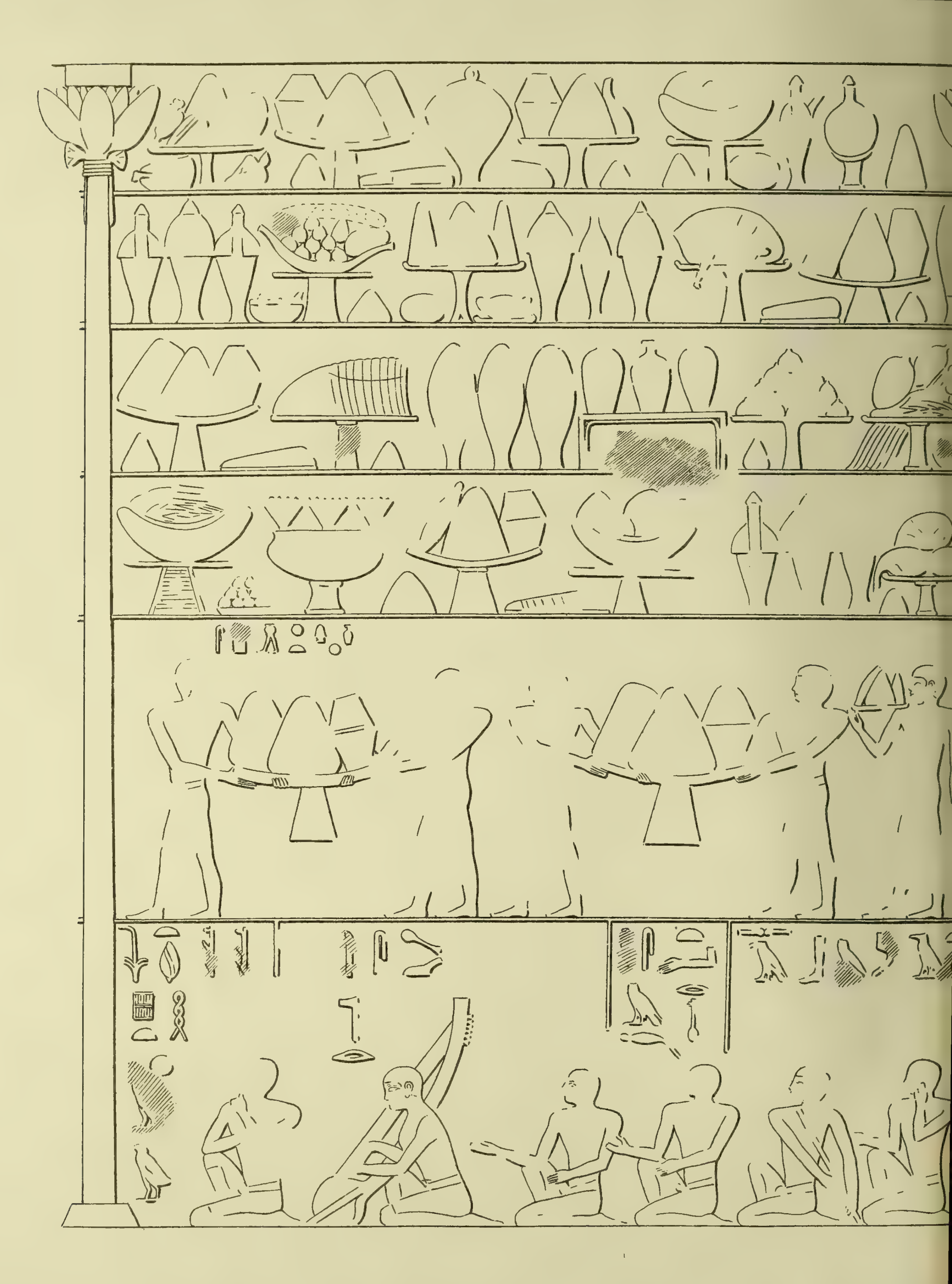
Lilian L. Davies, del.

ADING IN THE SEED.

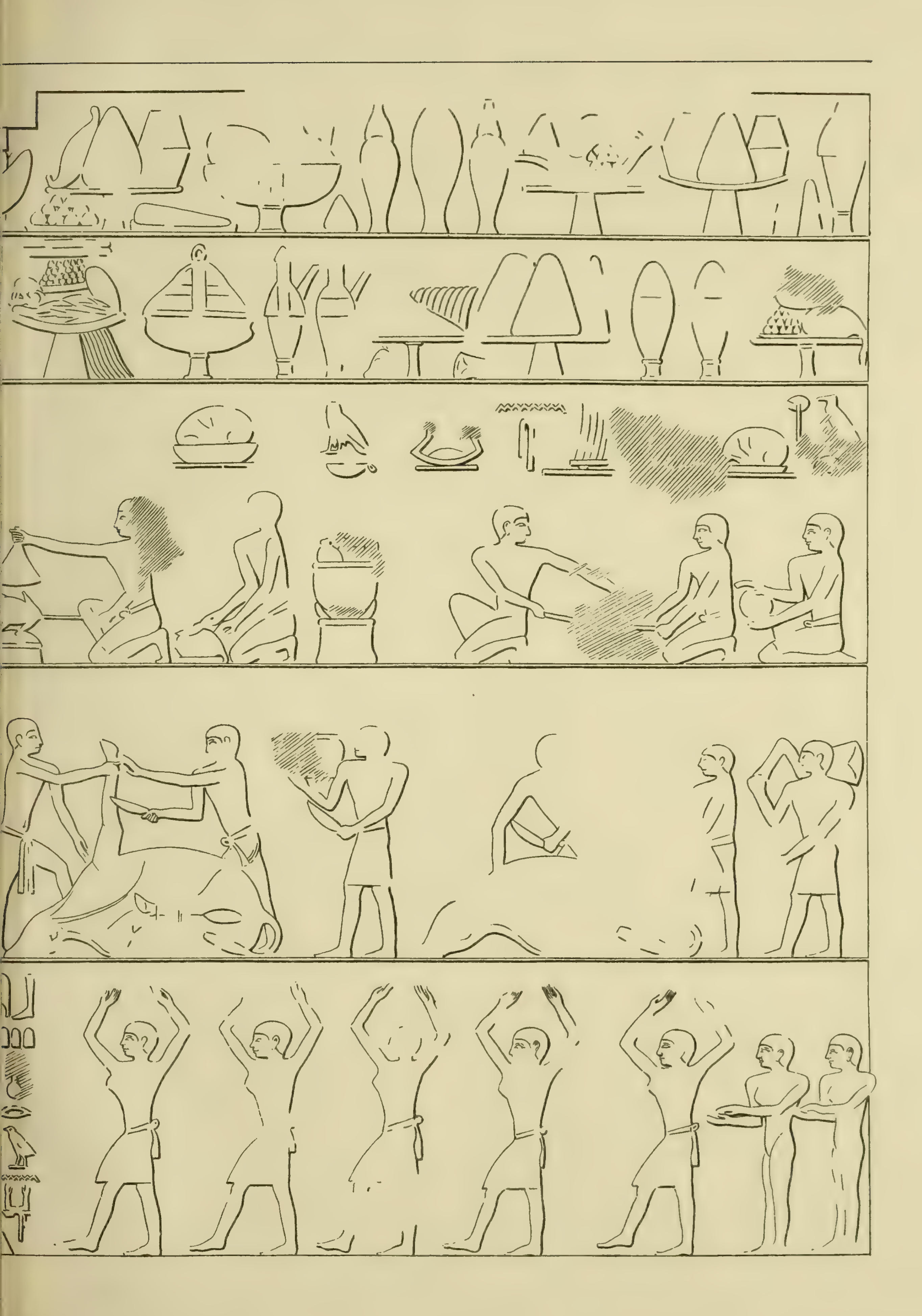


SOUTH WALL—LEFT HALF.

Scale $\frac{1}{7}$



Scale 1/7

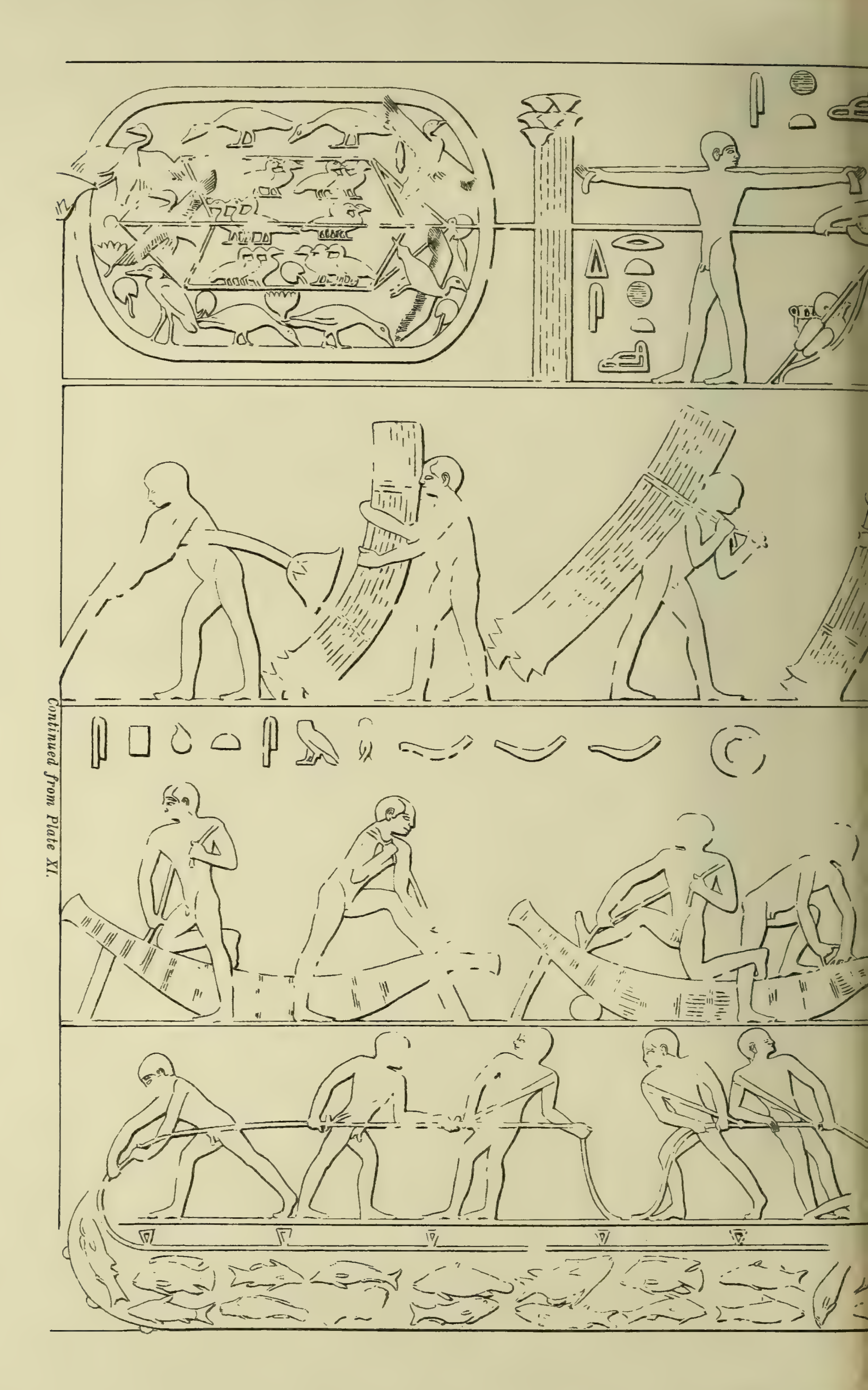


OMPLETION.



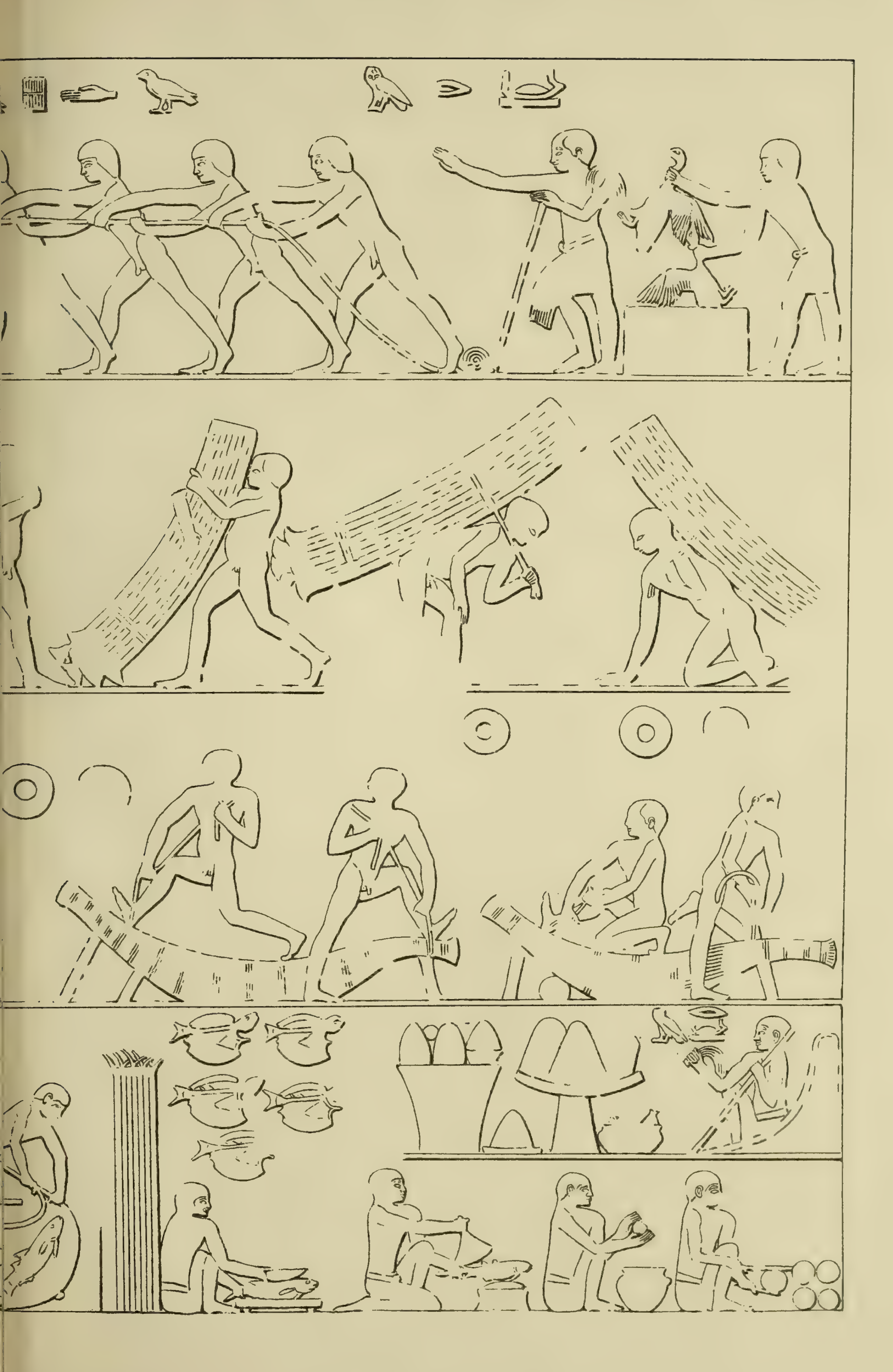
N. WALL—URARNA FOWLING.

Scale $\frac{1}{7}$

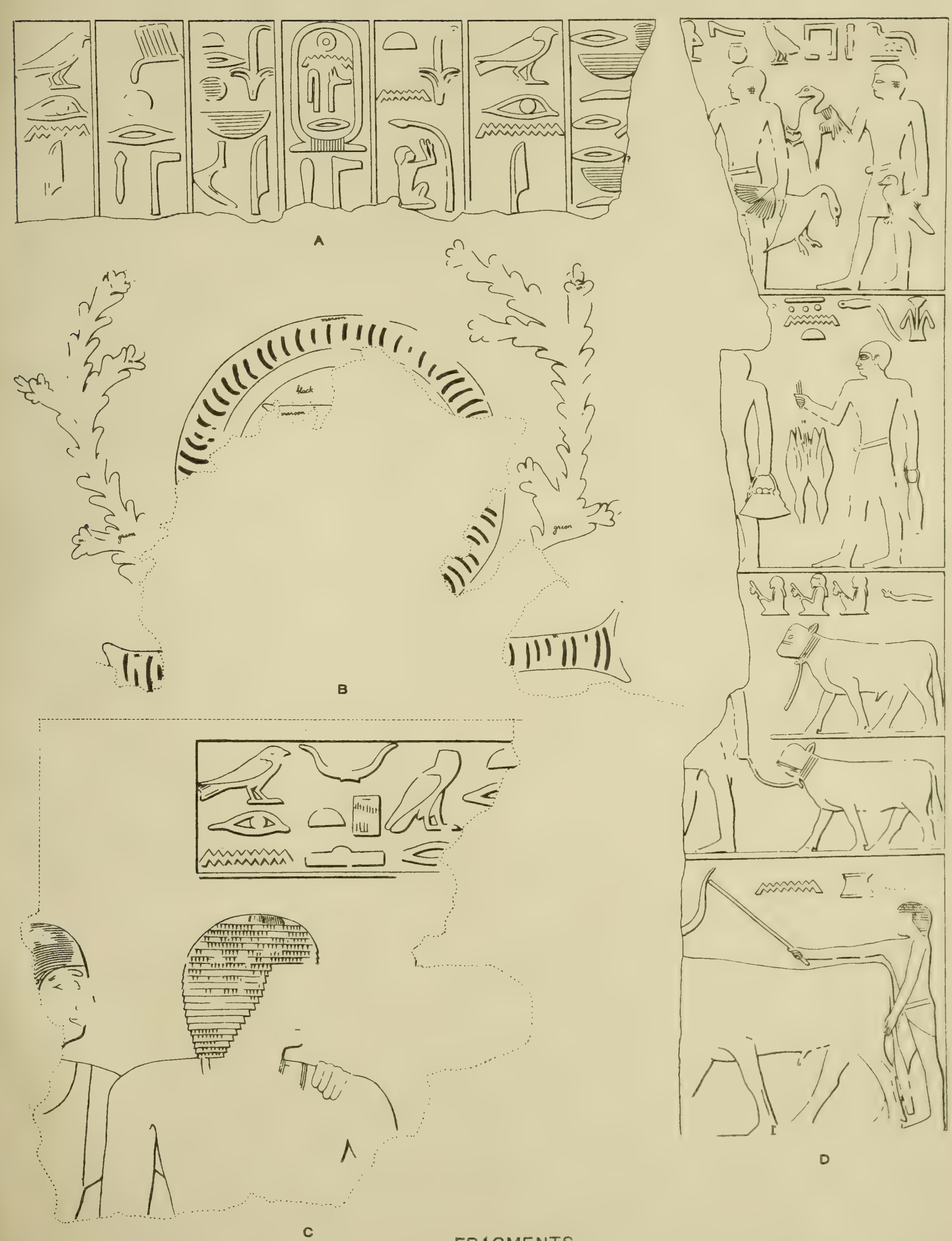


Scale 1/7

N. WALL—SCENE

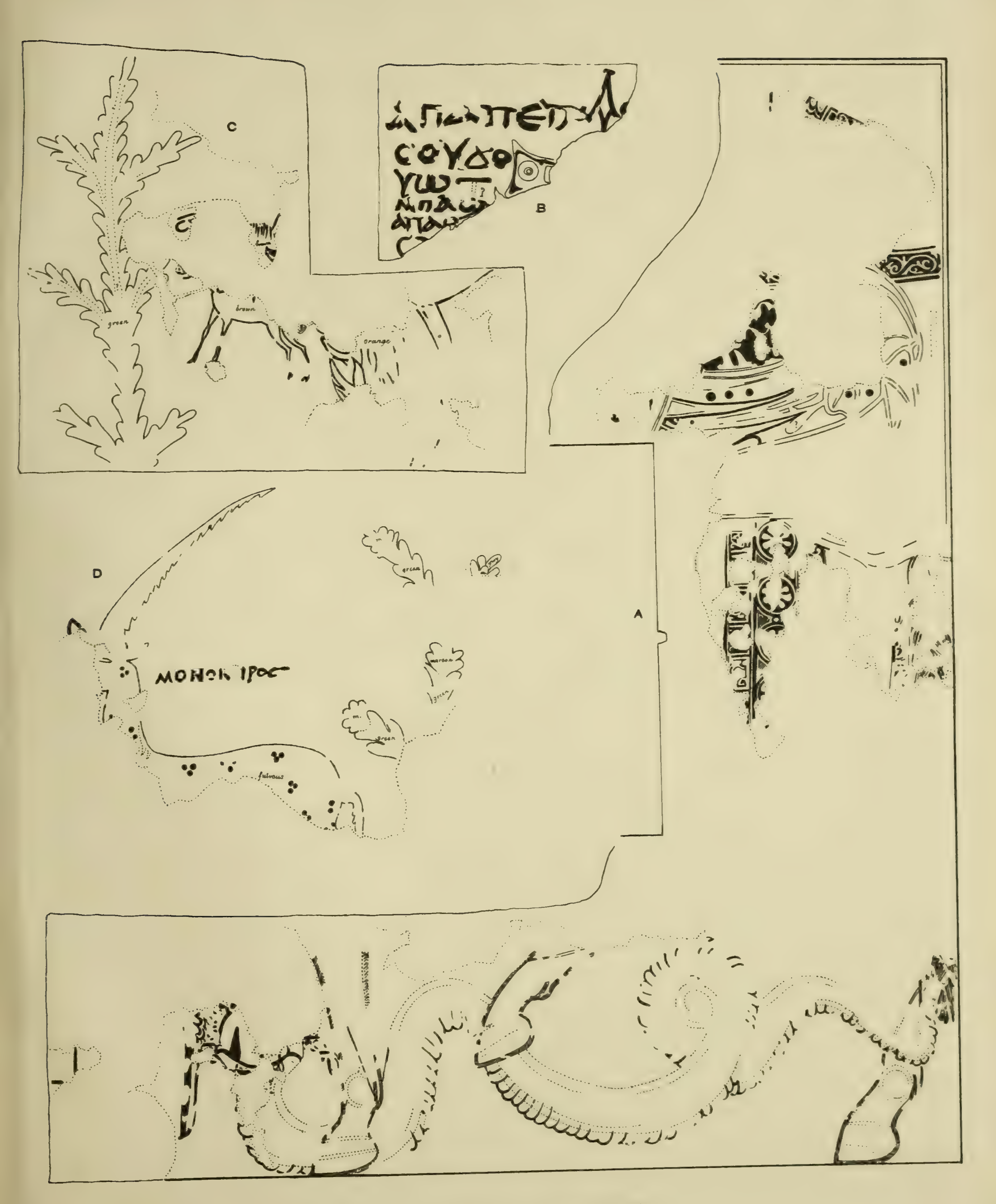


THE MARSHES.



FRAGMENTS.

Scale $\frac{1}{7}$



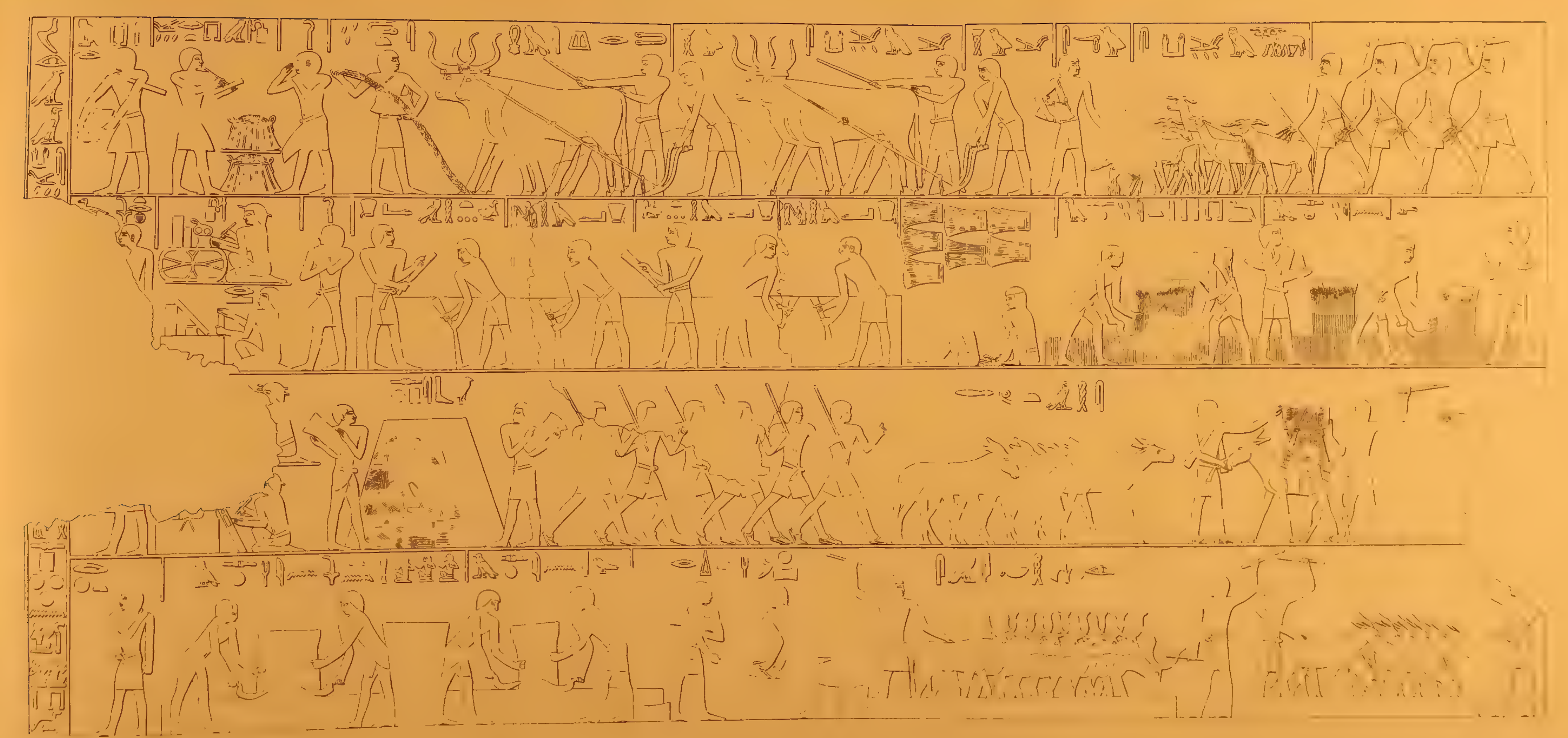
RELICS OF COPTIC PAINTINGS.

cale



Scale ⅕

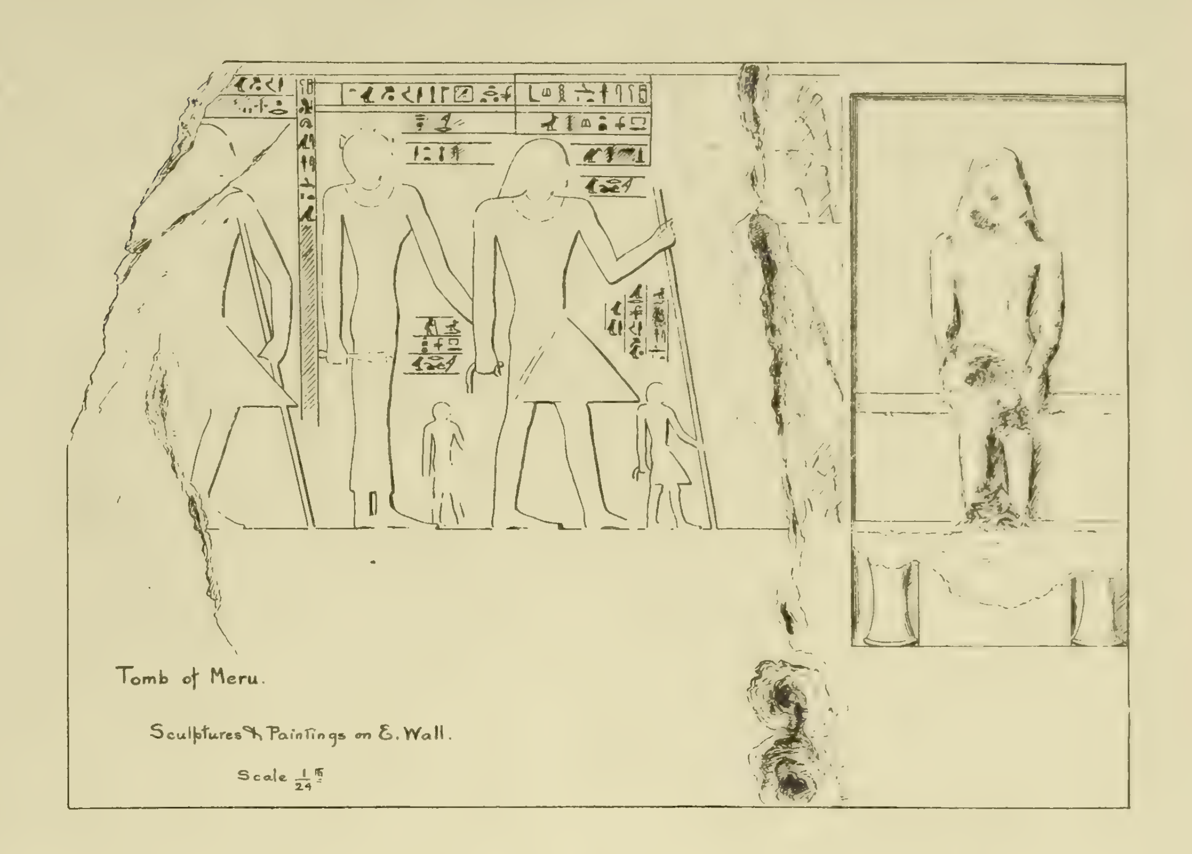
WEST WALL—FIGURE OF URARNA.

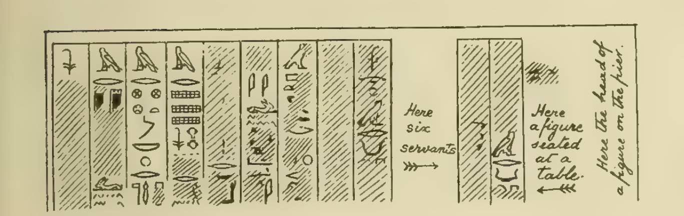


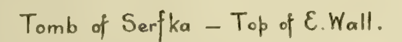
WEST WALL COMPLETION

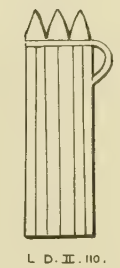
Scale 1/8

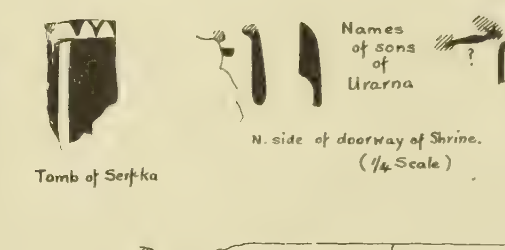


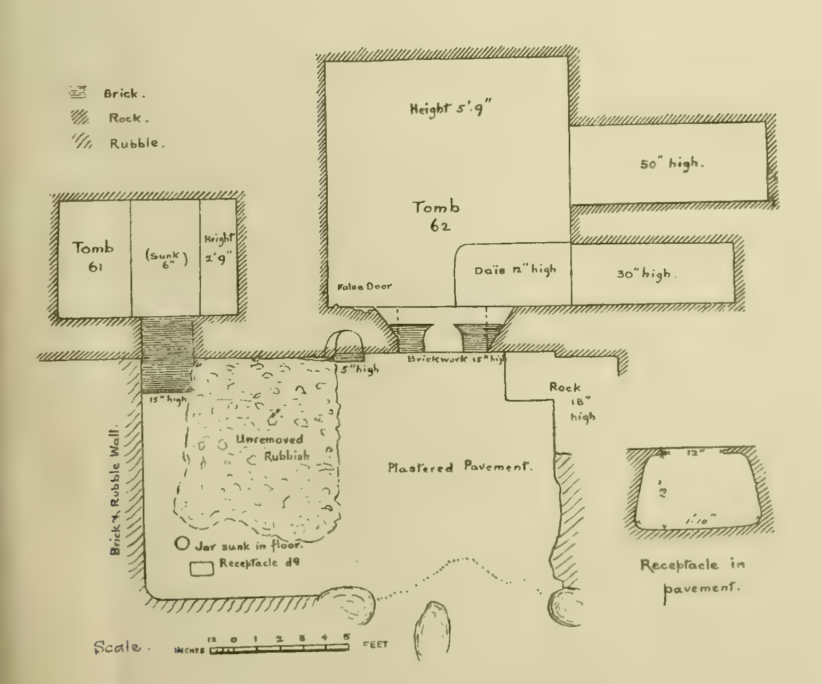




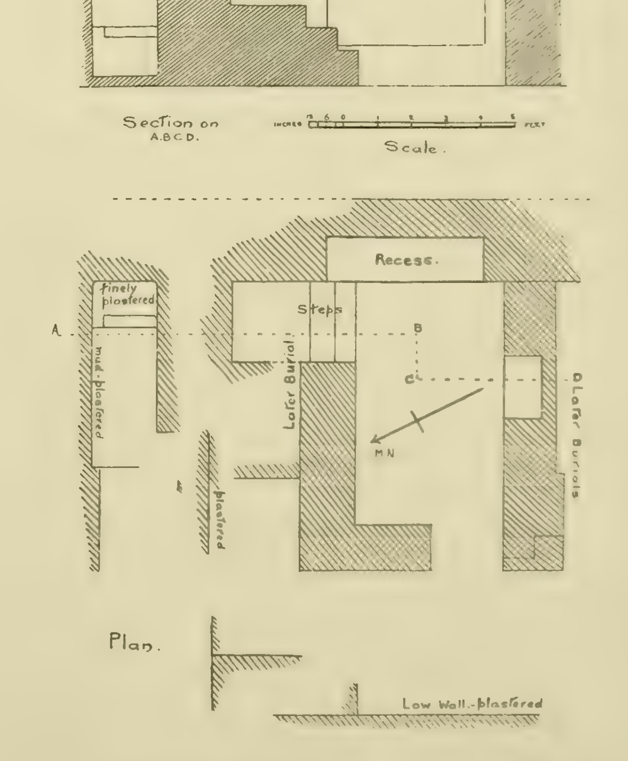




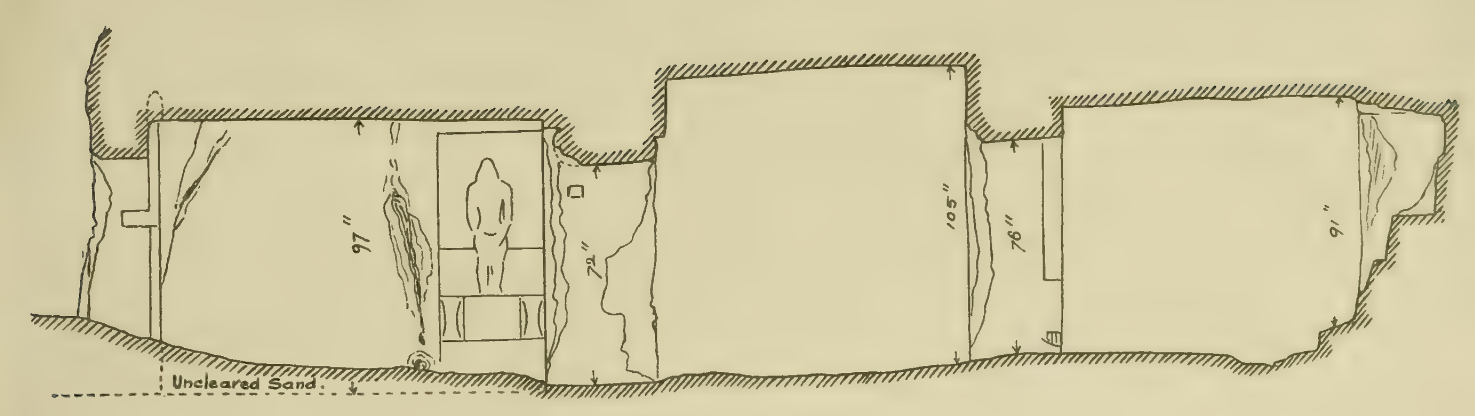




TOMBS ARRANGED AS A DWELLING.



BRICK HOUSE OUTSIDE TOMB OF URARNA.



LONGITUDINAL SECTION

SCALE.

0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 FEET

0 1 2 3 4 METRES

PLAN

Remains of 2 seated Figures.

M.N.

Well – partly filled

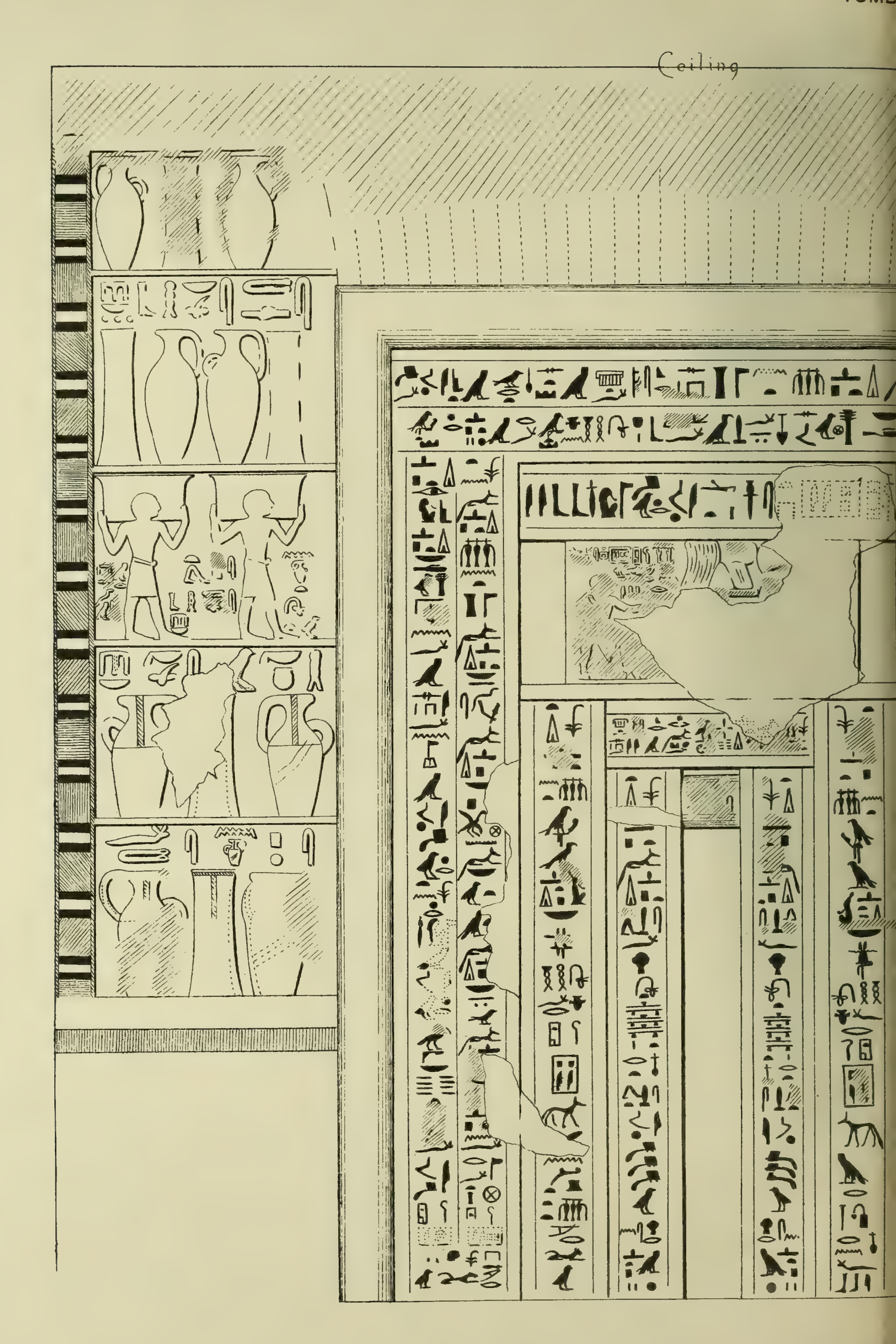
Sitting Figure

Well.

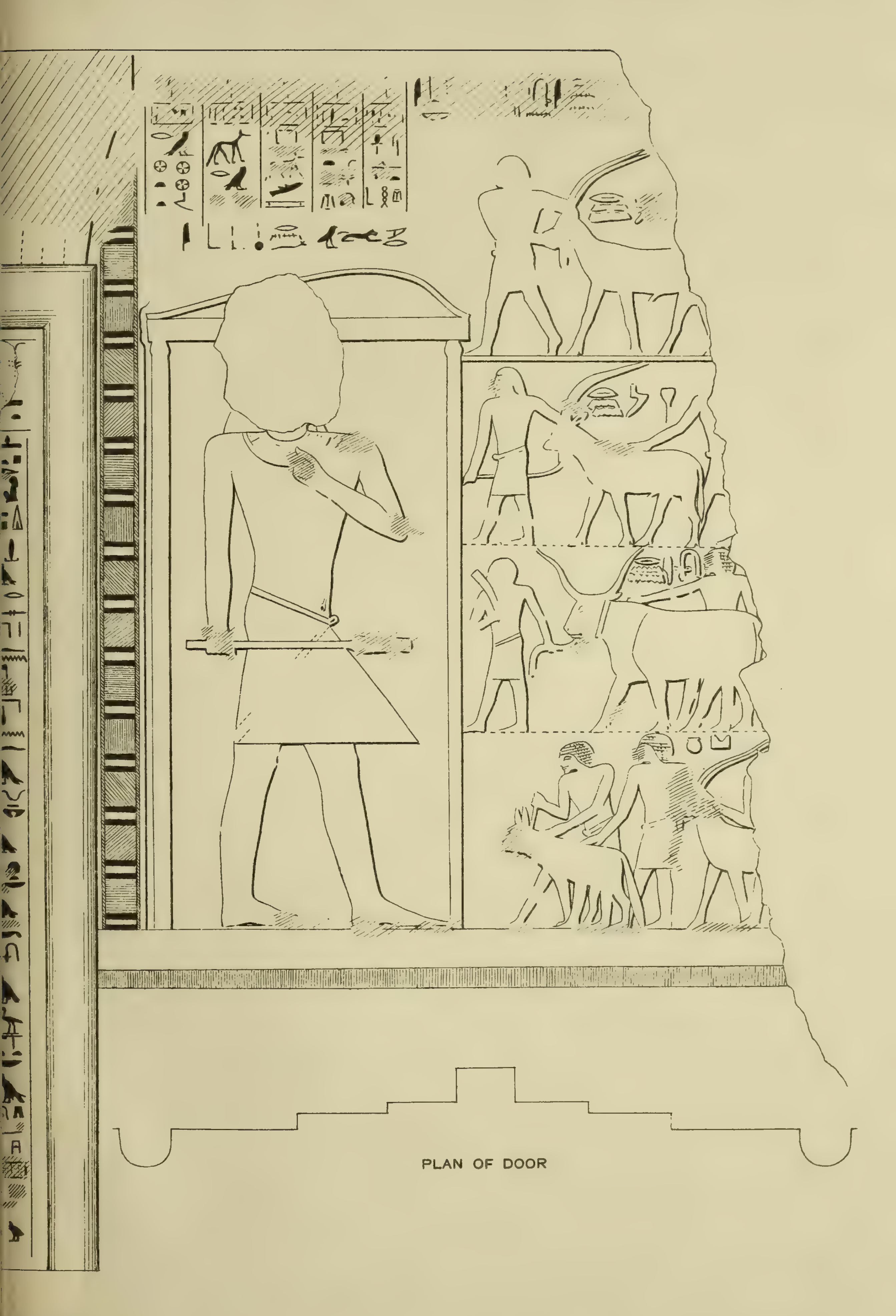
Underground Vault.

False Door.

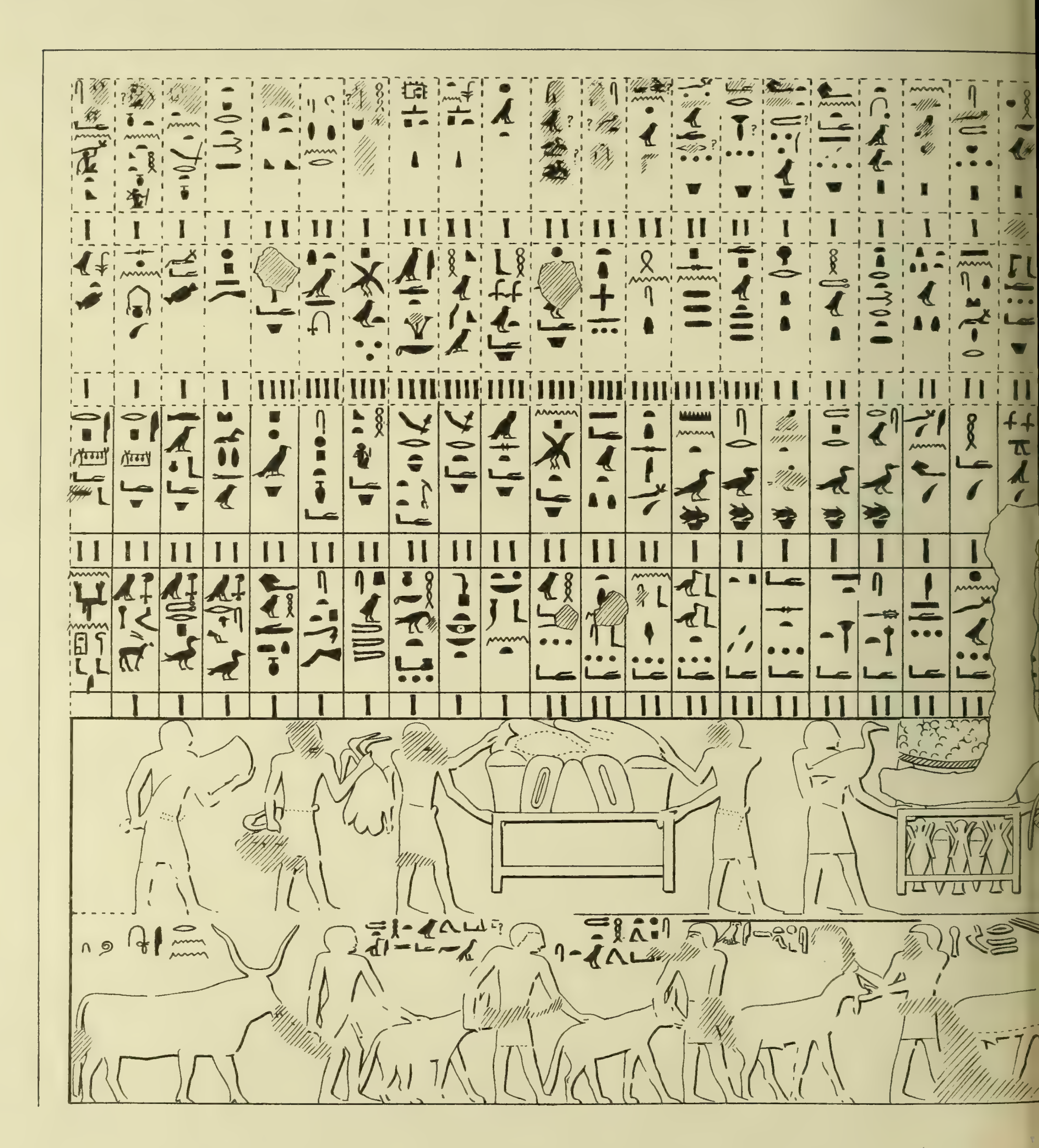
The exterior is covered with rubbish to a depth of 3' or 4'.



Scale 1/9



EST WALL.

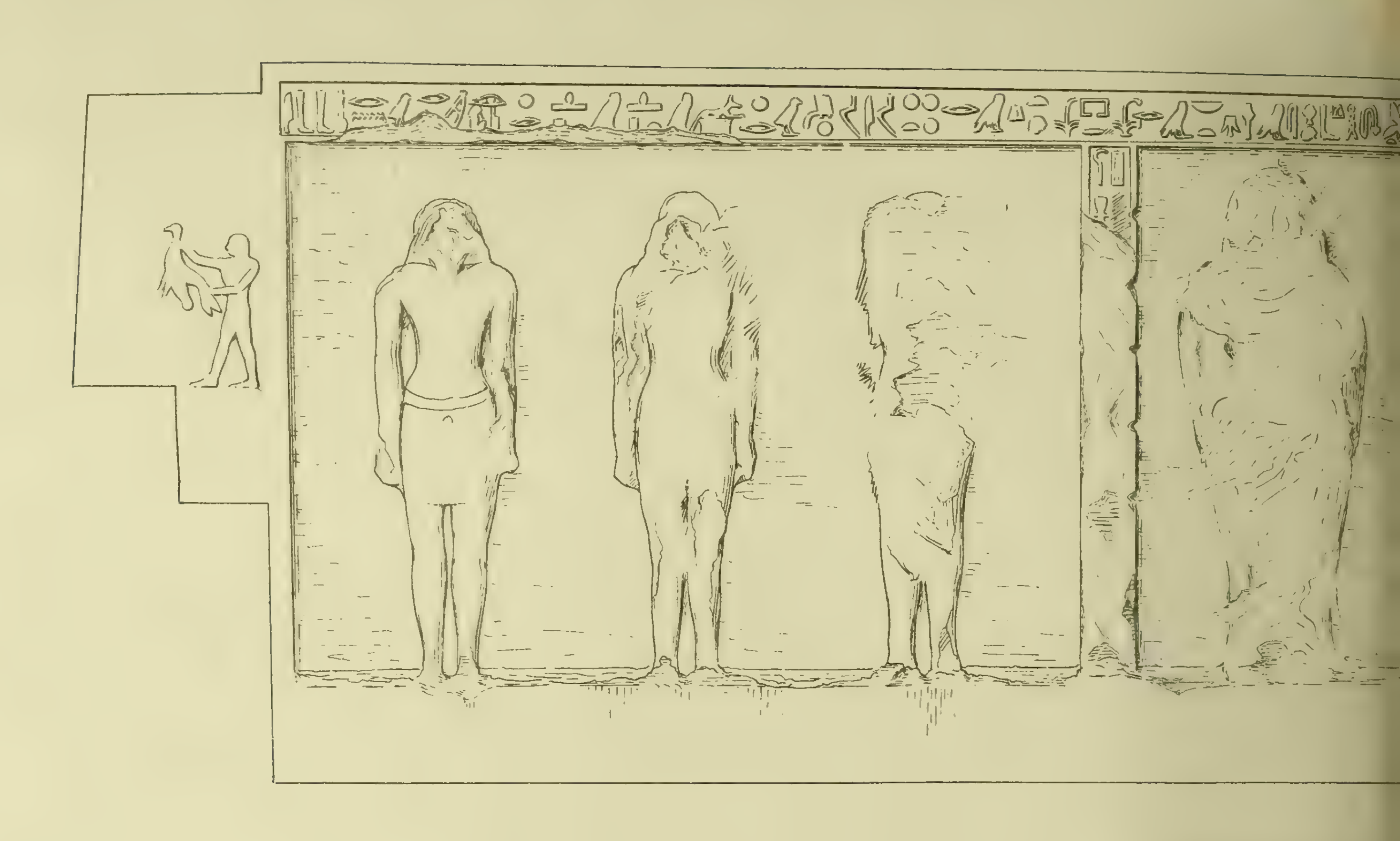


OUTER CHA

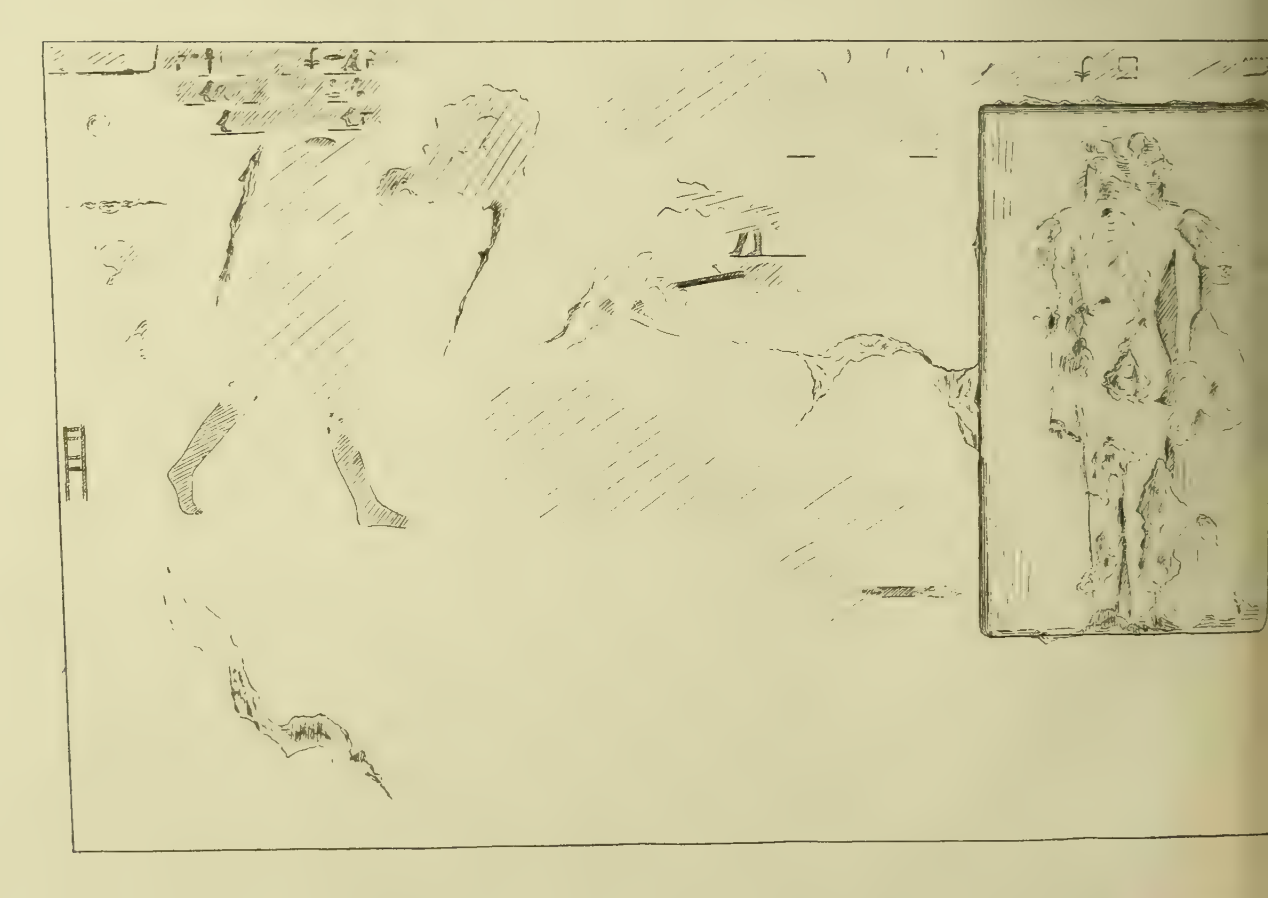
Scale ⅛



S. WALL.

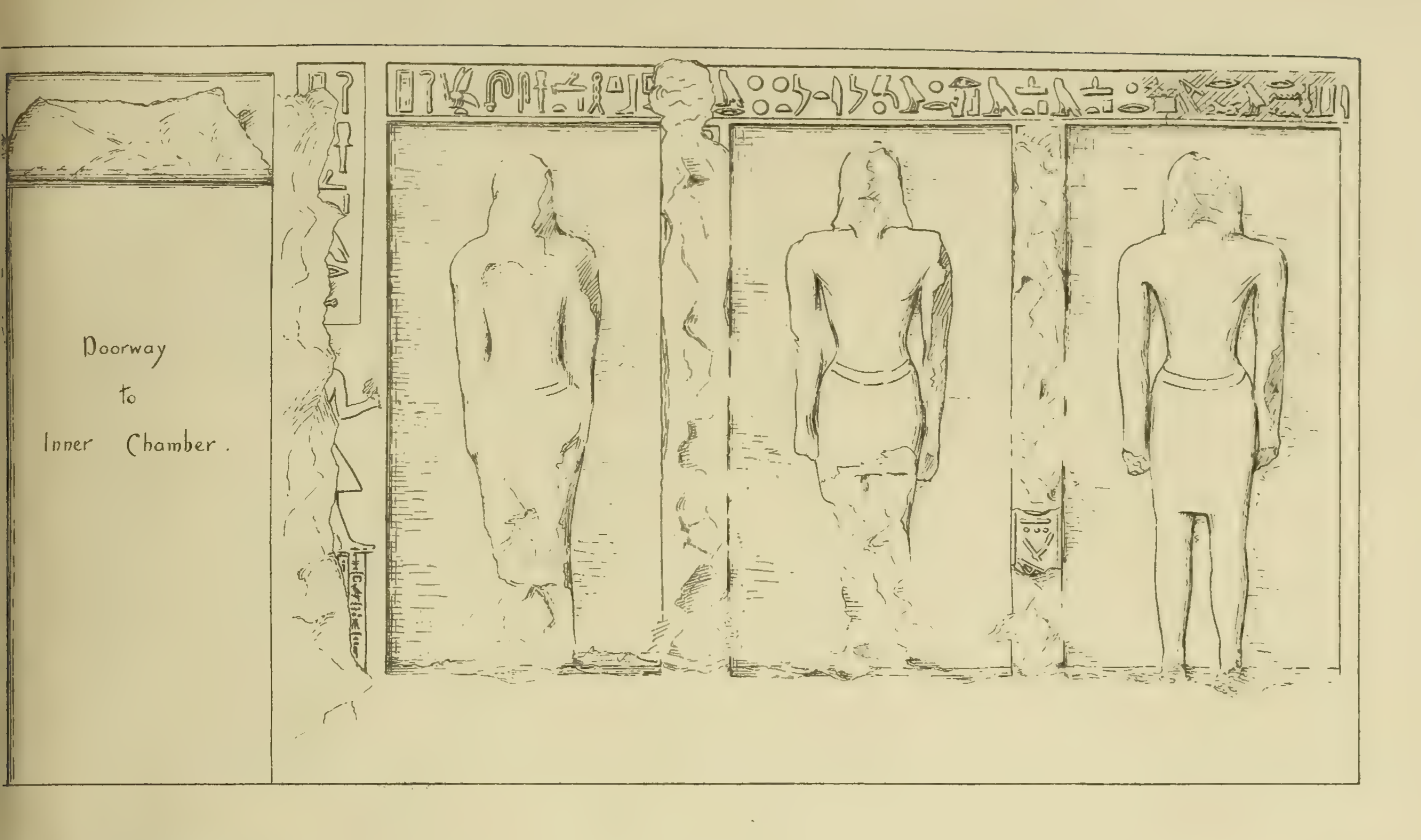


OUTER CHAMBER

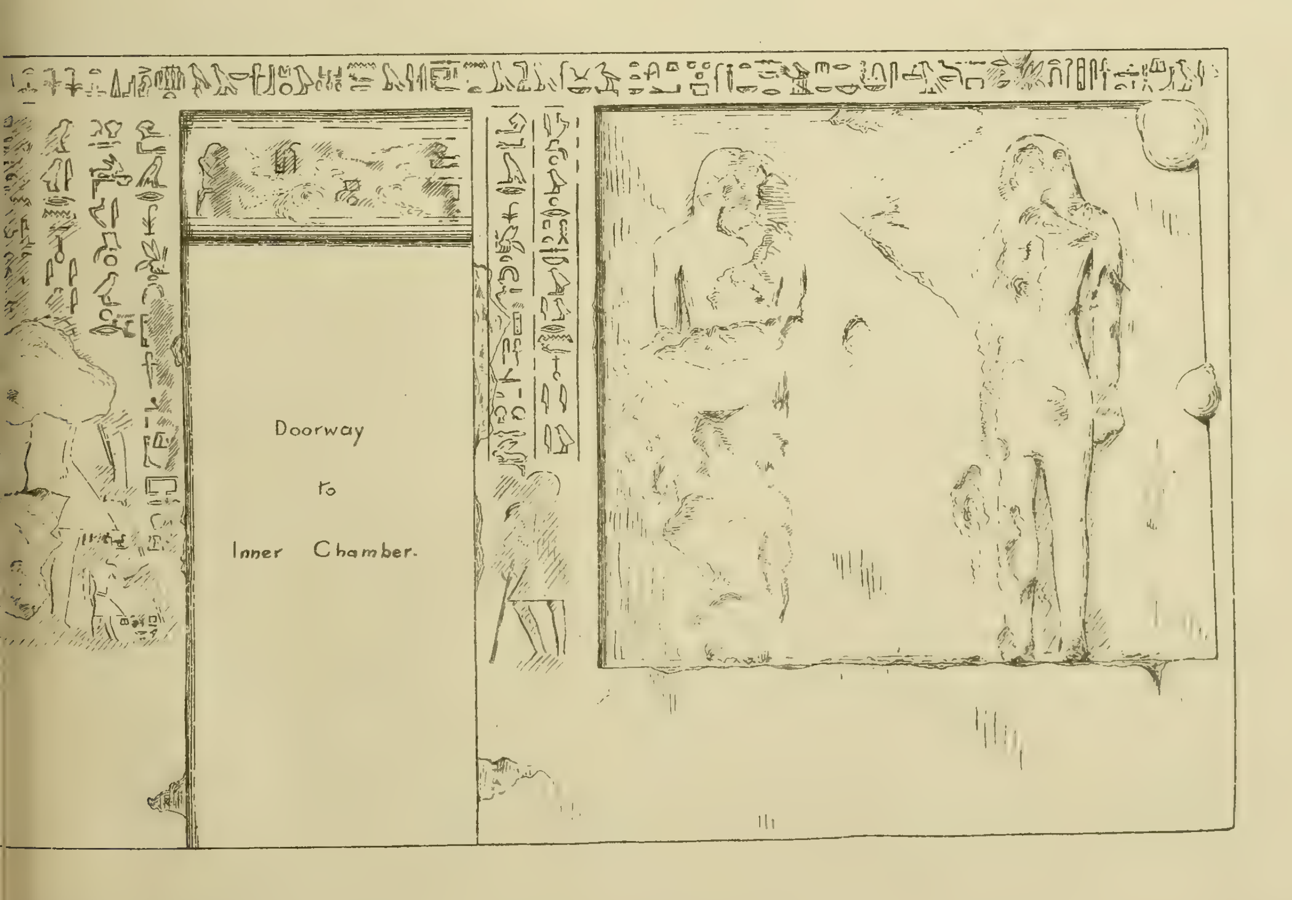


Scale $\frac{1}{24}$

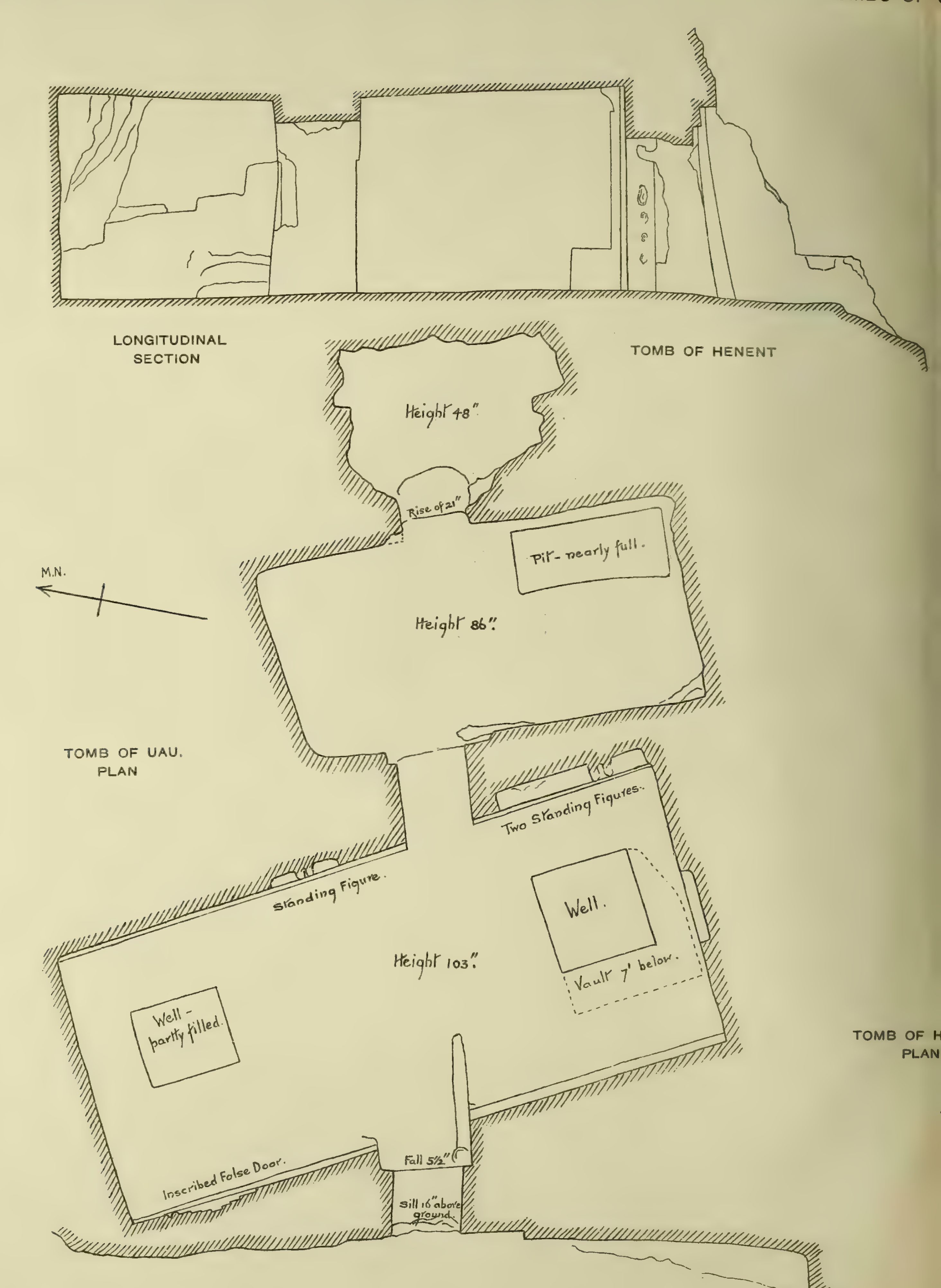
OUTER CHAMBE



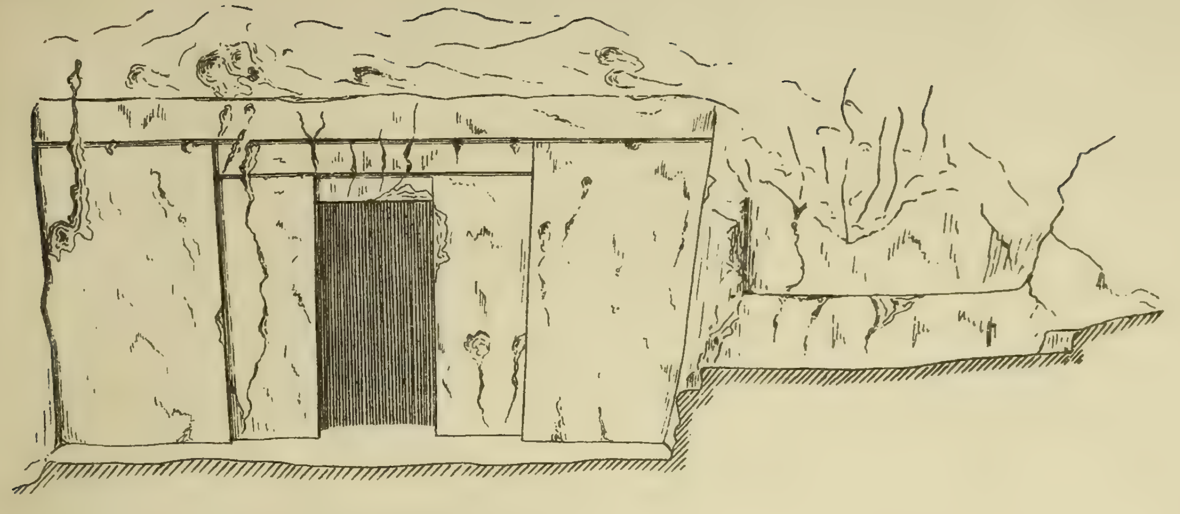
ERU—EAST WALL.



UAU—EAST WALL.



LONGITUDINAL SECTION
TOMB OF HENENT
Height 48"
Rise of 21"
Pit - nearly full.
M.N.
Height 86".
TOMB OF UAU. PLAN
Two Standing Figures.
Standing Figure.
Well.
Height 103".
Vault 7' below.
Well - partly filled.
TOMB OF H
PLAN
Fall 5½"
Inscribed False Door.
Sill 16" above ground.



ELEVATION

Hole

Trench in floor 17" deep.

3' deep

Unhewn ledge of rock.

Hole

upper half hewn out.

Only upper half removed.

Only the Top of the pillar remains.

Only the upper half has been removed.

Well – Bottom not found at 47'.6"

Well – Vault reached 8'9" below floor.

Pit. (full).

M.N.

Pit. (full).

Altar & False Door.

Altar & F. Door.

Steps

Edge of Platform.

SCALE.

0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 FEET

0 1 2 3 4 METRES



WEST WALL—FALSE DOOR.

Scale $\frac{1}{10}$

a

doorway

f b

a c

boulder

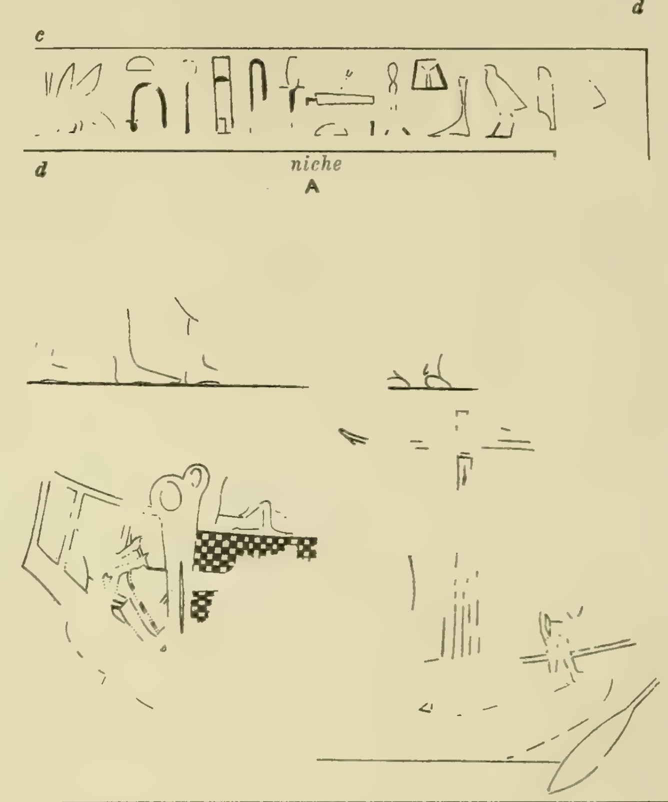
b d

c

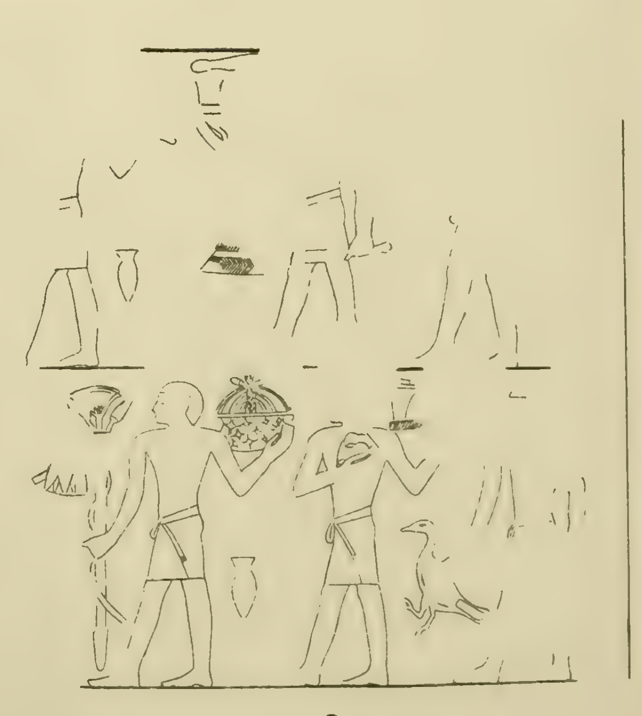
f

d niche

A



B



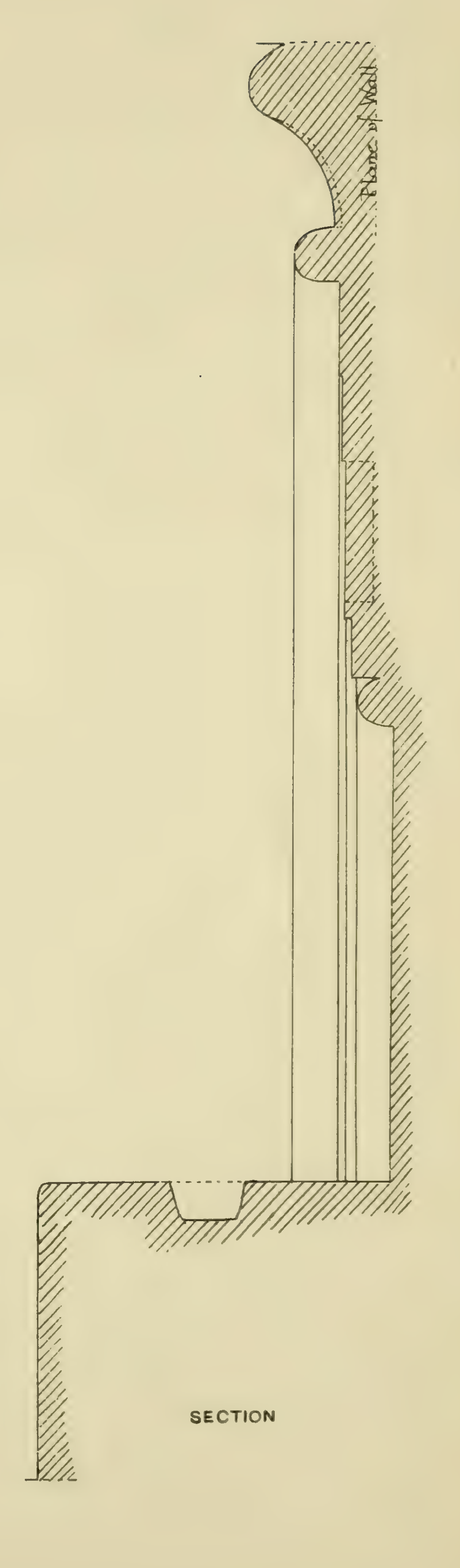
Scale ⅛

D

FRAGMENTS.

C

PLAN



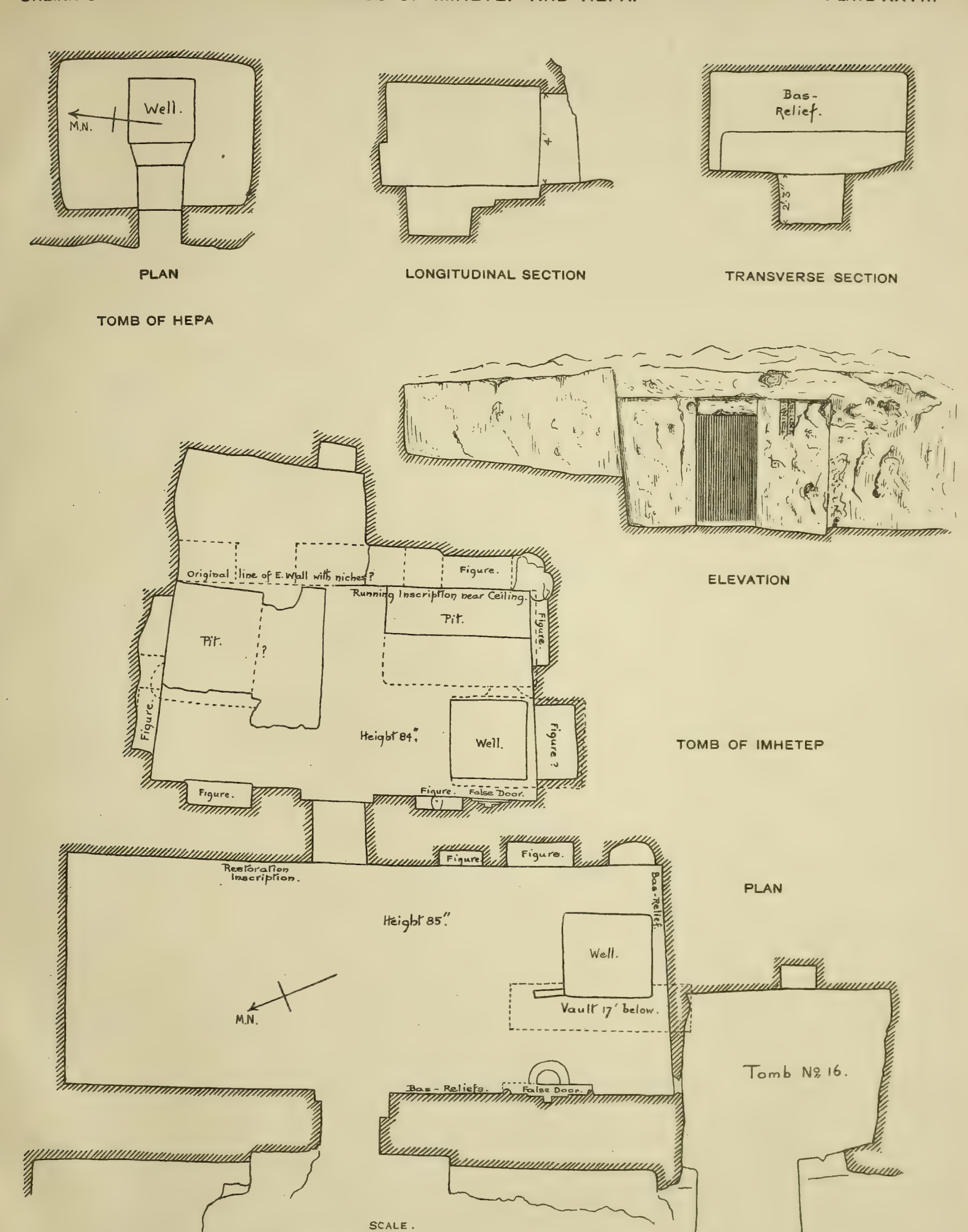
SECTION

S. FALSE DOOR.

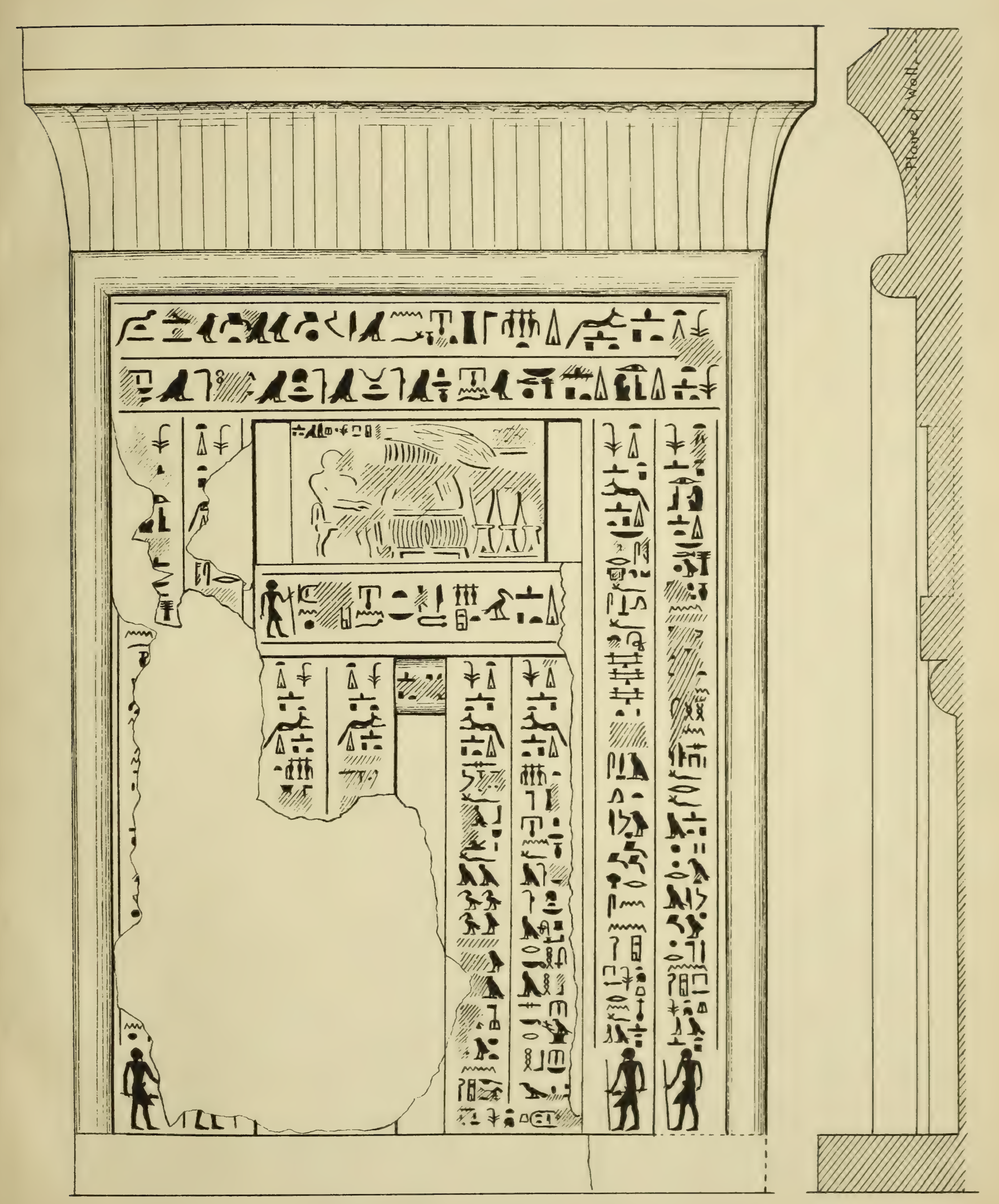
Scale 1/12 (1 in. to the foot)

LIST OF OFFERINGS—BURIAL VAULT.

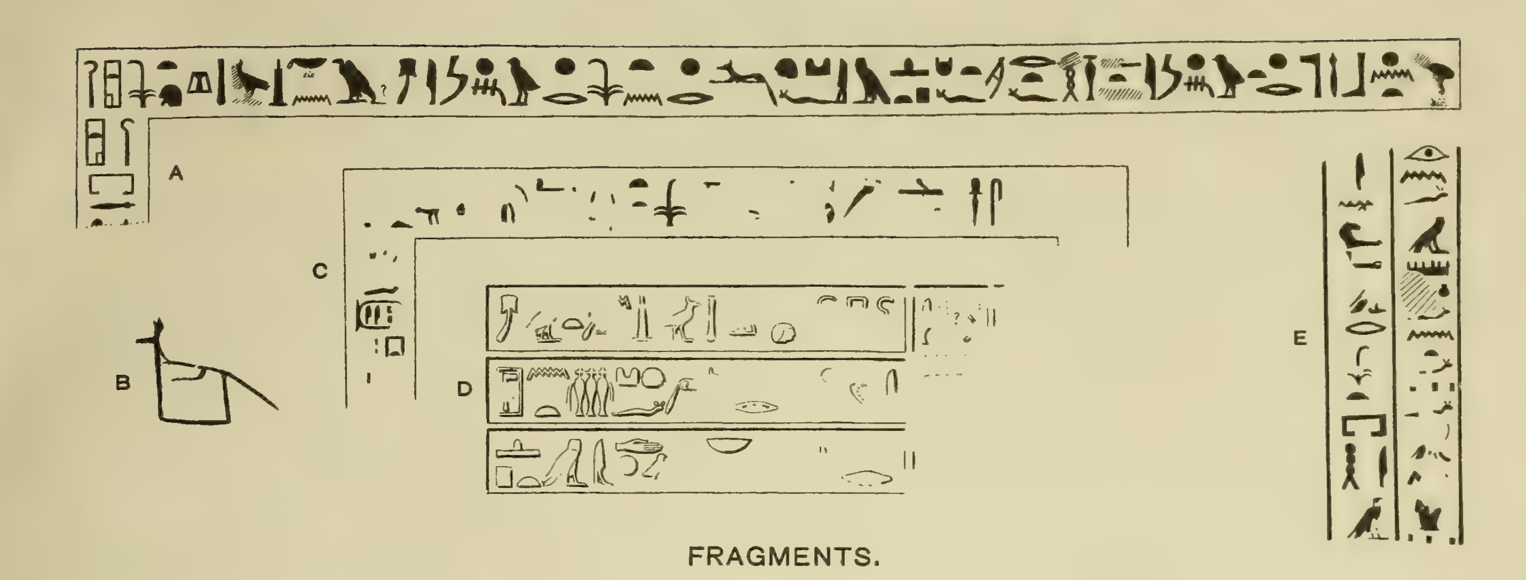
Scale 1/8



Well.
M.N.
4'
Bas-Relief.
2' 3"
PLAN
LONGITUDINAL SECTION
TRANSVERSE SECTION
TOMB OF HEPA
ELEVATION
Original line of E. Wall with niches?
Figure.
Running Inscription near Ceiling.
Pit.
Figure.
Pit.
?
Figure.
Height 84".
Well.
Figure?
Figure.
Figure.
False Door.
TOMB OF IMHETEP
Figure.
Figure.
Restoration Inscription.
Bas-Relief.
PLAN
Height 85".
Well.
Vault 17' below.
M.N.
Tomb No. 16.
Bas-Reliefs.
False Door.
SCALE.
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 FEET
0 1 2 3 4 METRES



FALSE DOOR, W. WALL.



FRAGMENTS.

WEST WALL—SOUTH HALF.

Scale $\frac{1}{8}$



RESTORATION INSCRIPTION

PLAN OF DOOR

blank

painted to imitate granite.

blank.

painted to imitate granite

sic

Niche.

Floor.

FALSE DOOR OF BEKHENT.



E. WALL.



W. WALL—S. HALF.



W. WALL—N. HALF.

Scale ⅛

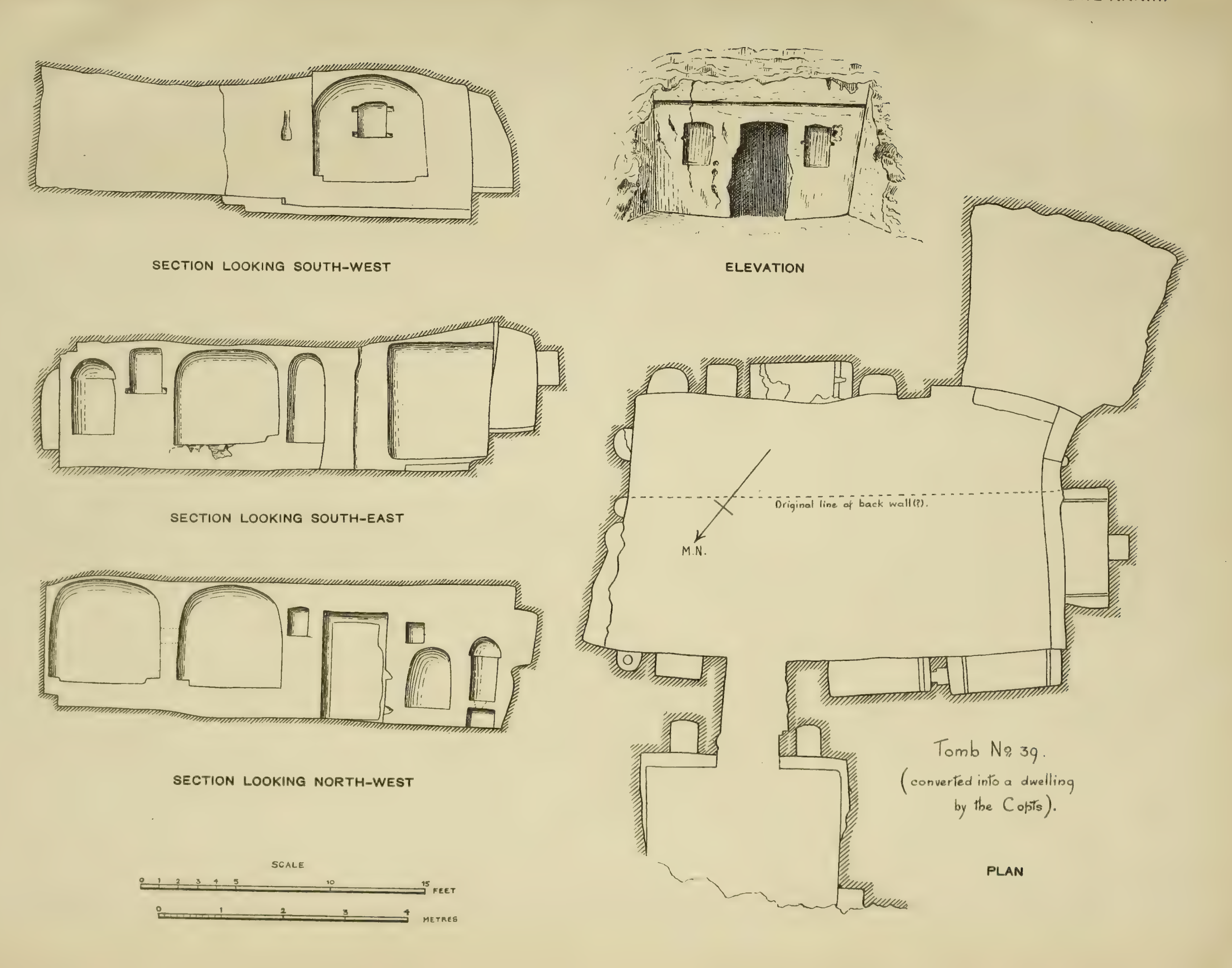
TOMBS 3, 6 AND 14.

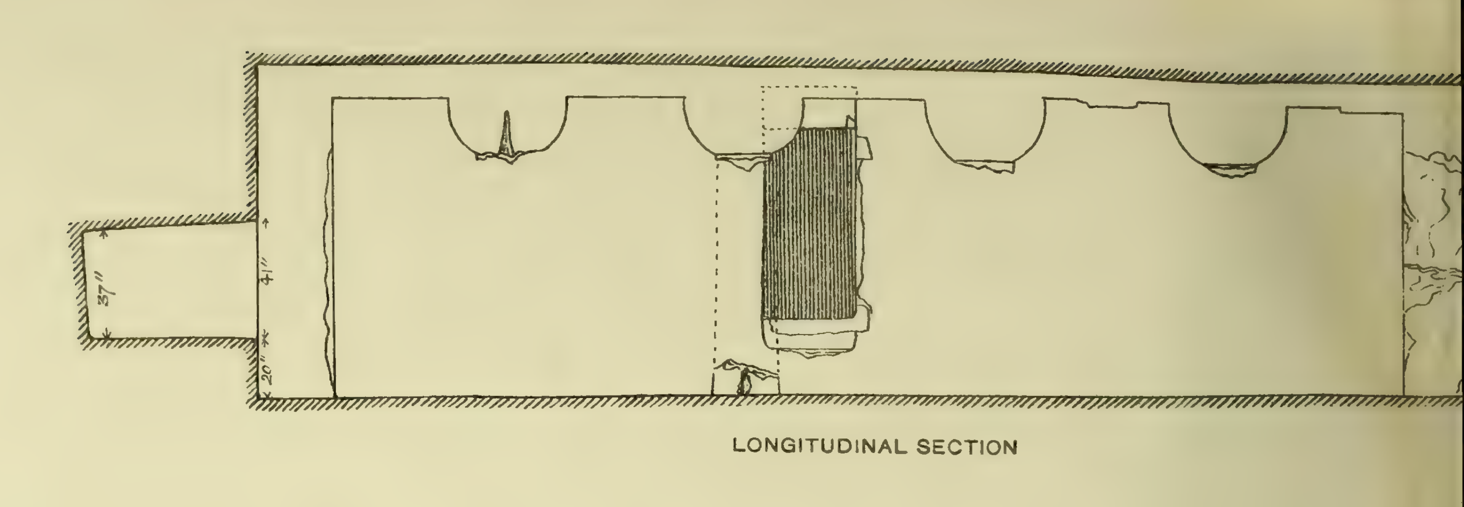
TOMB No. 14 (FAÇADE ONLY).

TOMB No. 3. PLAN.

TOMB No. 6. PLAN.

Scale $\frac{1}{66}$ (⅛ in. to the foot)


SECTION LOOKING SOUTH-WEST
ELEVATION
SECTION LOOKING SOUTH-EAST
SECTION LOOKING NORTH-WEST
Original line of back wall(?).
M.N.
Tomb No. 39.
(converted into a dwelling by the Copts).
PLAN
SCALE
0 1 2 3 4 5 10 15 FEET
0 1 2 3 4 METRES



LONGITUDINAL SECTION

11" deep.

Remains of Column.

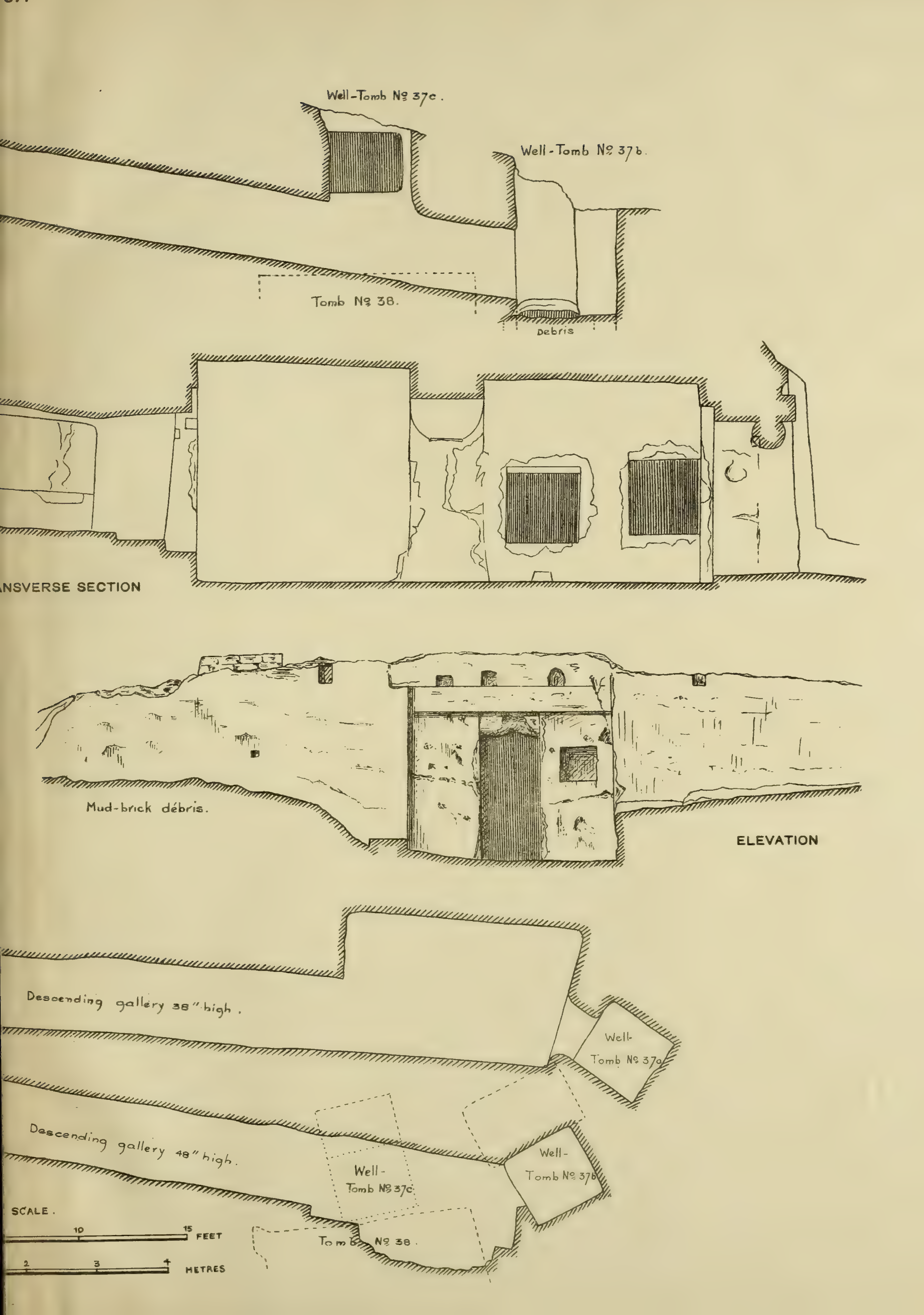
M.N.

Niche.

0 1 2 3 4 5

0 1

PLAN


Well-Tomb Nº 37c.
Well-Tomb Nº 37b.
Tomb Nº 38.
Debris
NSVERSE SECTION
Mud-brick débris.
ELEVATION
Descending gallery 38" high.
Well-Tomb Nº 37a
Descending gallery 48" high.
Well-Tomb Nº 37b
Well-Tomb Nº 37c
Tomb Nº 38.
SCALE.
10
15
FEET
2
3
4
METRES

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